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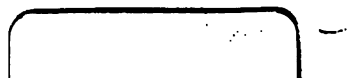
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KENRICK'S
BIBLICAL ESSAYS.



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BIBLICAL ESSAYS

BY

REV. JOHN KENRICK, M.A., F.S.A.

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1. THE GOSPEL OF MARK THE PROTEVANGELIUM.
 2. THE TRUE NATURE OF THE GIFT OF TONGUES.
 3. ST. PAUL'S DESIGNATION OF THE ATHENIANS.
-

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P R E F A C E. *

THE Essays contained in this little Volume are reprinted from the periodical publications in which they appeared several years since. The questions to which they refer have not yet received a solution, which biblical critics unanimously adopt. And as the time which has elapsed has not altered my opinion respecting the conclusions maintained in them, I have thought it not unseasonable to reproduce them, with such additions and alterations as have suggested themselves in the interval. In all important points they remain the same.

The Essay on the priority of the Gospel of Mark originated in the endeavour to form a clear idea of the events of our Lord's crucifixion, recorded with such perplexing variety by the evangelists. Finding, as I thought, the clue in the Gospel of Mark, I was naturally led to inquire into the relation in which it stood, both as regarded its age and its authority, to the first and third Gospels. From this investigation I was convinced, not only that the opinion in which

I had previously acquiesced, that Mark had abridged Matthew and availed himself of Luke, was unfounded, but that his Gospel bears internal evidence of being the oldest of the three which it is now customary to distinguish as the synoptics, and that where they differ, it deserves to be considered as the most authentic record of our Lord's life and teaching. The other view was then more prevalent among biblical critics; lately the current seems to have changed; but as much diversity of opinion still prevails, even among those German critics who have most profoundly studied the question, the results of an inquiry, independently conducted, may not be without interest.

The question of priority and relative authority among the biographers of our Lord, is not one of mere curiosity. It was long assumed that there could be no essential variation, much less inconsistency, in their narratives, and that, by some means or other, a *Consensus Evangelistarum* was to be brought about. How pernicious this assumption has been, the history of biblical hermeneutics abundantly shows. The attempt of the harmonist is now abandoned, in all schools of scientific biblical criticism. But those who, finding perfect reconciliation impossible, have resorted to selection, proceed often in an arbitrary manner, now preferring one evangelist as an authority, now another, without having established any ground of justification for their preference. Or, if a ground of preference has been assigned, Matthew, as an apostle, has been generally supposed to be a safer guide than Mark, a

reporter at second-hand. If the following Essay is at all successful in maintaining its thesis, this preference must be considerably modified.

There is another point of view in which this question of priority becomes very important. It is not merely in the order or the circumstances of their narratives that the three synoptical evangelists differ. The picture of our Lord's character and teaching, of his views of his own office, and the nature of his mission, comes out with no trivial differences, according as we take Matthew, Mark, or Luke as our authority. Nor can it be denied that there are traces of the influence of subsequent events upon the minds of the narrators, changing the colour, if not the outlines, of the history. The nearer the date of the record to the time when an occurrence took place, or a discourse was delivered, the less likelihood there is that memory should have failed, or that the words of the teacher should have been deflected from their original meaning. In this respect also, I believe that Mark deserves a preference over Matthew and Luke, which has not generally been accorded to him.

Since the Essay on the Gift of Tongues was written, the subject has been treated by Dean Stanley, in his work on the Epistles to the Corinthians. With the free and candid spirit of his criticisms is united an intimate acquaintance with the writings of St. Paul, and one who is perplexed by the difficulties of the common interpretation naturally hopes to find in his work a solution of them. I must confess that

his explanations do not appear to me satisfactory. May I not add, that they seem hardly satisfactory to himself?

The subject of the third Essay may be thought not to deserve the minute criticism which has been bestowed upon it. Nothing, however, can be considered trifling, that relates to the actions of St. Paul, and none among the events of his life is more remarkable, than his address to the Athenians on Mars Hill. Our judgment of the character of that address depends very much on the meaning of a single word in his exordium, and as opposite senses have been attributed to it, a more exact investigation of its use by the Athenians themselves, than I have found in any of the commentators, may enable us to decide, whether he meant to praise them as religious, or blame them as prone to superstition.

YORK, *December*, 1863.

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ESSAY I.

THE GOSPEL OF MARK, THE PROTEVANGELIUM.

THE question of the priority of composition among our three first evangelists has been discussed by more than one generation of biblical critics, without having received any decisive solution. The second of the three, so far from being considered as the first in the order of composition, has been generally treated as not having even a claim to originality, and has been called an abbreviator of Matthew and Luke. Such was the opinion of one of the most eminent biblical scholars of the last century, J. J. Griesbach, expressed in his "*Commentatio quo Marci Evangelium totum a Matthæi et Lucæ Commentariis decerptum esse monstratur.*" The same opinion appears in a modified form in the writings of Schleiermacher, De Wette, Baur, who think that Mark had the Gospel of Matthew and Luke lying before him, and that by injudiciously

attempting to combine them, he has made his own narrative confused and inconsistent.*

That Mark deliberately epitomized the two other Gospels is in itself very improbable, though there can be no question of the fact, that there is little in his Gospel which is not in Matthew or Luke; and that there is not only a conformity in the events, but a correspondence in phraseology which precludes the supposition that each has written independently of the other. But, before Mark can justly be called an epitomizer, more must be shown than that his Gospel is the shortest of the three, and that many things are wanting in it which are found in the other two. It is evidently possible that, instead of his omitting these events and discourses, his may have been the original narrative, which they have added to or modified.

Let us for the present leave out of view the very probable tradition of the Church, that Mark, being the interpreter of Peter, set down in his Gospel all that he remembered of the things said or done by Christ; and suppose that with the Gospels of Matthew and Luke before him, he sat down to make an abridgment of them. He has deserved small thanks for his labour, from those into whose hands his work came as a substitute for the others. In Matthew he has omitted the whole account of the genealogy and birth of Christ, the visit of the wise men, the massacre of

* This opinion is carefully examined and shown to be groundless by Hilgenfeld, *Das Marcus Evangelium*, &c., and Wilke, *Der Urevangelist*.

the innocents, the flight into Egypt, the details of the temptation, the sermon on the mount, the sealing and watching of the sepulchre, the excuses of the guard, and the interview of Christ with his apostles in Galilee. In Luke he has omitted the birth of John and the infancy of Christ, as well as the precise indications of time which that evangelist has given; the parables of the prodigal son, the good Samaritan, Lazarus and Dives; the raising of the widow's son, the cure of the ten lepers, and the discourse of our Lord with Simon the Pharisee. Never, surely, was papyrus or parchment more unnecessarily and injudiciously economized. It is easy to see why the 142 books of Livy, the 44 of Trogus, the 80 of Dion Cassius, should have been abridged or epitomized; but the difference of bulk between a copy of Matthew or Luke and one of Mark is too inconsiderable, to afford a motive for a companion of one apostle to lay a mutilating hand upon the work of the companion of another apostle, or of an apostle himself. Griesbach has, indeed, noticed a circumstance which might well have caused him to doubt whether Mark could have epitomized Matthew. "Mark," he says, "sometimes surpasses Matthew in the perspicuity and distinctness of his narrative; nay, is even more accurate, and approaches nearer to the truth of facts." This is little in accordance with the character of an abridger, and proves him to have been, as far as these deviations go, an original and independent witness.

In calling the Gospel of Mark the *Protevangelium*

I do not mean to deny that there may have been a written record of still earlier date, though I see no proof of its existence, at least in the Greek language. The Hebrew original of Matthew having been lost, we cannot judge in what relation it stood to Mark's Gospel. The Christian writers speak of the Hebrew Matthew as the first written of the Gospels, but we do not know by whom or when it was translated into Greek, or what addition the translator may have made.* It is probable that Mark's Gospel preceded this translation. I assume no hypothesis respecting the cause of the verbal harmony between the three first Gospels, though I cannot conceive of its originating, except from written documents. If, however, the priority of Mark's Gospel to the others can be established, it will go far to confirm the opinion, that where there is a verbal coincidence between him and Matthew or Luke, they have copied his language. Luke professes himself to be a compiler. What I mean is, that *the Gospel of Mark exhibits the Christian tradition of the life of our Saviour in an earlier form than either of the other Evangelists as we now have them*, and was written at a time nearer to that of his ministry.

* "Matthæus, propter eos qui ex circumcisione crediderant, evangelium Christi Hebraicis literis verbisque composuit, quod quis postea in Græcum transtulerit non satis certum est." —Hieron. Cat. Vir. Ill. Matth. He had seen and copied it, and it is said to have been extant in the time of Constantine. It was a different book from the "Gospel according to the Hebrews," of which he frequently makes mention.—Augustine de Consensu Evangelistarum, Lib. 1, c. 2.

The arguments by which I propose to establish this are such as would be applicable to the works of any three biographers, deriving their materials from their own recollections, or the memorials of others. The evangelists claim no supernatural source of knowledge, no divine superintendence to guard them from error in recording or selecting. There can be no reasoning from the characteristics of their works, if we do not consider them as men of like infirmities with ourselves, liable to failure of memory, exposed to all the influences of their age, their country, and their personal connections. We must also regard the traditions which they collected and preserved as subject to those variations and accretions which gather, even in short periods, around the original nucleus of facts. Unless this be allowed in its fullest extent, there is no scope for criticism. The *Deus ex machina* puts an end at once to all human agency, and all reasoning upon human probabilities.

The opening of the Gospel of Mark suggests the idea that it was written by one who had not acquired a conception of the relation in which the events he records stood to the history of the world, and therefore takes no pains to connect it with that history. Beyond its internal connection with the tetrarchy of Herod, and the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate, things essential to the narrative, there is nothing to fix the date of our Saviour's ministry. Its simple title is "Beginning of the *Announcement of glad tidings* of Jesus Christ, Son of God." The Gospel according to

the Hebrews, framed upon the original of Matthew, began, as far as we can make out from the confused accounts which have come down to us, with a reference to the reign of Herod as the time of John the Baptist's preaching.* Luke, on the other hand, like a practised historian, who feels that he is writing of an event which concerns the world at large, prefixes to his history of our Saviour's preaching the date of the reign of Tiberius, the names of the high priests of the year, and the Roman procurator, the division of provinces among the tetrarchs, and the age of Christ at the commencement of his ministry. His preface shows that he wrote at a time when many had already taken the subject in hand, and he is anxious to impress his readers with the idea that he has used all diligence in preparing his own work. John's Gospel is equally devoid with Mark's of all reference to chronology in its opening, but from a very different cause. He regarded the ministry of his master altogether in its spiritual, not at all in its external, relation. "The kingdom of God," or "of heaven," which forms so prominent a topic in the other evangelists, and to which some idea, more or less refined, of an outward and visible manifestation of divine power was always attached, occurs only twice in his Gospel, and in the same connection, the discourse with Nicodemus, where

* According to Epiphanius (Hæres. 30, c. 13), Herod was called in this Gospel "*King of Judæa*." The tetrarch (Mark vi. 14) was popularly called king, and this quotation, supposing it to be correct, would not necessarily imply that Herod the Tetrarch had been confounded with Herod the Great.

our Saviour teaches that a man must be born again, and of the spirit, or he cannot enter it. John alone records the declaration of Christ before Pilate, that his kingdom was not of this world. John assigns to him no human parentage, nor describes him as the son of the carpenter. He traces the divine word which dwelt in him to the bosom of the Father and the beginning of time. For this reason, probably, not because a chronology was to be found in the other evangelists, he has said nothing of the time of Christ's appearance.

As the Gospel of Mark is without a preface, so it is without any formal conclusion. In our Bibles, indeed, it appears to be finished off after the manner of a history, the subsequent appearances of our Lord, his ascension, the fortunes of the Gospel and its preachers winding up the whole. But critics are generally agreed, that the last verses, from the ninth inclusive, are not genuine.* Is it, then, conceivable that any one sitting down to epitomize Matthew and Luke, both of whom (the latter at great length) relate events subsequent to our Lord's resurrection, should break off his own abridgment with the mention of the female disciples flying in terror from the sepulchre? That the author contemplated a reader appears from Mark xiii. 14, but the conclusion indicates an early composition and publication, before the somewhat shadowy and varying narratives of our Lord's appearances after

* This question will be more fully considered in the Second Essay.

the resurrection had become a definite part of the Christian tradition; before, therefore, the appearance of the other two Gospels, in which these narratives are incorporated. Peter refers to them generally, but not specifically, in his address in the house of Cornelius.*

How early the composition of this document must have taken place is evident from the circumstance that *Apostle* had not yet become a title. In Luke and in the Acts it is repeatedly given to the Twelve, just as at the present day; in Mark, as in Matthew, it occurs once, and only once, and then in circumstances which clearly mark the difference of usage. The manner of their first mission is related, with no important difference, by the three evangelists (Matt. x. 1; Mark iii. 14; vi. 7; Luke ix. 1), except that Matthew calls them apostles from the first; Mark only when they return from their mission (vi. 30), and then using *ἀπόστολοι* in the sense in which it is used both in classical Greek and in the Septuagint, as equivalent to *οἱ ἀπεσταλμένοι* "the messengers," "those who had been sent out," the name having reference to this special mission. Accordingly, he never again applies the name to them, calling them always *οἱ δώδεκα*. Luke, on the other hand, expressly says (vi. 13), he *named* them apostles, and accordingly gives them this title in his subsequent history (xvii. 5; xxii. 14).†

* Acts x. 41.

† Matthew (viii. 14) calls Simon, Peter, but does not relate till xvi. 18, our Lord's giving him that name. Mark (i. 29) relating the same event as Matthew, the cure of his wife's mother, calls him Simon.

That Mark does not use ὁ Κύριος as a title of our Lord, is a similar indication of the early composition of his Gospel. It occurs xi. 3. (comp. Matt. xxi. 3)—ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ χρεῖαν ἔχει (in our version, "The Lord hath need of him"), but evidently in the sense of "our master." He nowhere uses it as the distinctive title of Christ, except in xvi. 19, 20; and this difference is one of the arguments which prove that the concluding verses of the Gospel must have been added at a considerably later period. John employs it as a title early in his Gospel (iv. 1), "When the Lord knew that the Pharisees had heard," &c. Luke uses it repeatedly in this sense (vii. 13, 21, 11; xvii. 5), as might be expected from the author of the Book of Acts, in whose time it had become established in usage. Even the commencement of Mark's Gospel, in which Ἰησοῦς Χριστός is found as a recognized name, excites a suspicion that the introductory verses may have been added when, from its original character of a collection of anecdotes, gathered from the preaching of an apostle, it was converted into a biography.

Again, Mark only represents the Twelve as receiving a commission to go forth and preach, to heal diseases and cast out dæmons, while Luke adds some instructions adapted to the circumstances under which they were sent out, and the reception which they had to expect. Matthew, who, in many instances, has brought together what was said by our Lord at different times, joins in one address (x. 16) the instructions which were suitable to this special mission, and others

having reference to a time when the apostles should be "as sheep among wolves," persecuted and scourged, brought before councils, kings and governors, a state of things which could not possibly occur in this purely local mission. This warning and exhortation is introduced by Mark (xiii. 9), as by Luke (xxi. 12), in a far more appropriate place, when our Saviour is predicting the state of his religion, in the interval between his resurrection and his second coming. Luke has transferred the charge in part (x. 3; comp. Matt. x. 16) to the mission of the Seventy.

This coincidence between Mark and Luke, where they deviate with apparent reason from Matthew, might be explained by Mark's having had Luke's Gospel before him, and several German critics suppose this to have been the case. The presumption, however, if we suppose that either has been a copyist of the other, is always in favour of the originality of Mark, Luke acknowledging that he had predecessors in setting forth our Lord's history, among whom Mark may very well have been included, while Mark bears no traces of second-hand authority, but many of independent composition and recent recollection.

In numerous passages, Mark, whom I consider as the representative of the apostle Peter, relating the same event as Matthew or Luke, accompanies his narrative with the mention of those minute circumstances which impress an eyewitness, and are as distinctly remembered and as naturally set down when he records the event, as the more important matters for the sake of

which the story is related. But as the same narrative passes from a contemporary's record to a formal biography, and further to a history, these minute circumstances, the adjuncts, rather than the essentials of the story, are gradually dropped. Where the same events are related, a comparison of the three evangelists will show that Mark is more circumstantial than Matthew, and Matthew than Luke, though the difference between the last and the second is not so great as between the second and the first. The following examples will illustrate this remark. It must always be borne in mind that we have not Matthew's Gospel in its original form.

In the account of the calling of James and John, Mark (i. 20) says that they left their father in the fishing-boat "with the hired servants;" Matthew (iv. 22) omits this last circumstance, but mentions their father Zebedee, while Luke (v. 11), who has introduced the call of these apostles in an appropriate place, makes no mention even of the father. In the history of the preaching of the Gospel, such as it was his purpose to write, it was of no moment who remained behind in the vessel; the important point was, that the apostles immediately obeyed the call of Christ, left all, and followed him.

When Mark relates the crossing of the lake to the country of the Gadarenes (iv. 35), he notices that other small boats accompanied the vessel in which our Lord embarked. It was a circumstance which would

strike one relating or recording what he had recently seen, but it was of no importance as a link of the narrative ; for those boats gave no aid in the storm which ensued, nor is any further mention made of them. Matthew and Luke, though in other respects they closely agree with Mark, take no notice of these boats.

Matthew (xxvi. 9), giving an account of the anointing of our Lord's feet in the house of Simon, at Bethany, represents his disciples as saying, "This ointment might have been sold for much." In Mark (xiv. 5), the cavil is not attributed to his disciples ; "there were some who said," and for the indefinite "much" we have "three hundred denarii." In John (xii. 5), the remark is fixed on Judas, probably from the odium into which he had fallen through his treachery. The suggestion, "the poor ye have always with you," is much more natural as addressed to the wealthy Pharisee and his friends (Luke vii. 36), in whose house the occurrence probably took place, which appears so strangely dislocated and repeated in the evangelists, than to his disciples.

Mark (ii. 1, 3) begins his narrative of the cure of the paralytic man by saying, that when it was known that he was gone into a house, great numbers came together, so that there was not even room to get to the door, and then proceeds to relate how the cripple was lowered through the roof. Matthew (ix. 1) mentions the fact of the cure very concisely, not noticing the

crowd or the difficulty of approaching our Saviour. Luke (v. 19) says nothing of the assembling of the crowd, but alleges its existence as the reason why the bearers carried the cripple up to the house-top. This difference is instructive: one writer sets down circumstances in the order in which they occur; the other introduces them when they are necessary to explain the connection of events—one is the manner of an eyewitness, the other of an historian.

After his transfiguration our Lord descends from the mount and cures an epileptic boy. Mark thus describes the transaction:—"When he came towards his disciples he saw a great multitude about them, and scribes disputing with them; and the whole multitude was struck with awe when they saw him, and ran towards him." Matthew simply says (xvii. 14), "When they came to the multitude a man approached him kneeling;" Luke (ix. 37), only that the multitude was waiting for him. But the eager rush of the people towards Jesus was clearly the consequence of the failure of the disciples to perform the cure; this encouraged the cavils of the scribes and caused the appearance of the Master on the scene to be hailed with emotion.

This is not the style of an epitomizer. Some of the German critics, who deny the originality of Mark, impute to his Gospel characteristics precisely the reverse of an epitome, "a tendency to a certain breadth and fulness in narration, a disposition to adorn his style and render it more lively by graphic addi-

tions.”* This is quite an arbitrary explanation of a characteristic, which finds a much more natural cause in the vividness and distinctness of personal recollection. Events traditionally preserved are liable, no doubt, to be altered in transmission, but not by such life-like touches as these; while the notion that they are the mere ornaments of style transfers the modern art of the novel writer to a people and age and a condition of society, to which they are wholly foreign. Such examples abound in Mark’s Gospel.

Twice it is recorded that our Lord had children before him, and in both cases, Mark mentions that he took them in his arms (ix. 36; x. 16), a circumstance which is not noticed by the other evangelists (Matt. xviii. 2; Luke ix. 47; Matt. xix. 13; Luke xviii. 16). It was not necessary to the lesson of humility in the one case nor to the benediction in the other, that he should take them in his arms. Shall we say, with the German critics before alluded to, that this is a sentimental addition of the second evangelist, or rather recognize in it a precious trait of the benevolence of our Lord, manifested in act as well as word,

* See Hilgenfeld, *Das Marcus Evangelium*, pp. 40–49. According to this writer, Mark was a master of the art of *chiaroscuro* in narrative. Explaining why, after mentioning (iii. 6) the counsel of the Pharisees and Herodians to kill Jesus, Mark immediately adds that a great multitude followed him and that he chose his apostles, he attributes it to his “pictorial tendency, artistically to group light and shade in his narrative,” and “turn in succession the bright and dark side of our Lord’s history to the reader’s view,” p. 30.

which has been omitted by the historians as unnecessary to the connection of events? It was not important, again, to the moral of the story of the young man who inquired what he should do to inherit eternal life, that we should know that "when Jesus looked on him he loved him" (Mark x. 21), a circumstance which neither Matthew (xix. 16) nor Luke (xviii. 19) mention; but who does not acknowledge in it the hand of a living witness and contemporary, recording his impression while the colours of memory are yet warm and glowing?

A comparison of the manner in which Matthew and Mark respectively relate the incident of the lawyer questioning our Saviour as to which was the great commandment, shows how inappropriate is the character of an epitomizer which has been applied to Mark. "Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets" (Matt. xxii. 37). "And Jesus answered him, The first of all the commandments is, Hear O Israel! The Lord our God is one Lord: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength: this is the first and great commandment. And the second is like, namely this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is none other commandment

greater than these. And the scribe said unto him, Well, Master, thou hast said the truth : for there is one God, and there is none other but he : and to love him with all the heart, and all the understanding, and with all the soul, and with all the strength, and to love his neighbour as himself, is more than all burnt offerings and sacrifices. And when Jesus saw that he answered discreetly, he said unto him, Thou art not far from the kingdom of God" (Mark xii. 28-34). If either evangelist has abridged the other, it is certainly not Mark. He represents, too, more correctly the spirit of the question. In Matthew it is captiously asked to tempt Jesus ; in Mark it appears to be a serious inquiry on the part of one who admired our Lord's wisdom, and wished to obtain his opinion on a doubtful question. Jesus receives it in the same spirit, and bestows the highest praise on the questioner which he could give to one who was not actually a disciple.

Again, if we compare the narrative of the storm on the sea of Galilee in Matthew and in Mark, we shall find that Matthew is brief and vague where Mark is graphic and precise :—

MATTH. viii. 23.

And when he was entered into a ship, his disciples followed him. And, behold, there arose a great tempest in the sea, insomuch that the ship was covered with the waves : but he was asleep. And his disciples came to him, and

MARK iv. 35.

And the same day, when the even was come, he saith unto them, Let us pass over unto the other side. And when they had sent away the multitude, they took him, even as he was, in the ship. And there were also with him

awoke him, saying, Lord, save us: we perish. And he saith unto them, Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith? Then he arose, and rebuked the winds and sea; and there was a great calm. But the men marvelled, saying, What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him!

other little ships. And there arose a great storm of wind, and the waves beat into the ship, so that it was now full (filling). And he was in the hinder part of the ship, asleep on a pillow: and they awake him, and say unto him, Master, carest thou not that we perish? And he arose, and rebuked the wind, and said unto the sea, Peace, be still (*Σιῶπα, πεφίμωσο*). And there was a great calm. And he said unto them, Why are ye so fearful? How is it that ye have no faith? And they feared exceedingly, and said one to another, What manner of man is this, that even the wind and the sea obey him?

Mark (x. 32) thus describes our Lord's disclosure of his approaching sufferings to his disciples:—"And they were on the way going up to Jerusalem; and Jesus was going before them, and they were filled with awe, and were afraid as they followed. And Jesus again taking the twelve began to speak to them of the things which were about to happen to him." This lively description of the disciples lingering behind their master in perplexity and dread, while he goes boldly forward towards the scene of his suffering, Matthew (xx. 17) reduces to the simple announcement that "As Jesus was going up to Jerusalem, he took the twelve apart on

the way, and said to them” And yet Mark is an epitomizer of Matthew!

As Jesus enters Jericho (Mark x. 46), blind Bartimeus sits by the roadside begging; and hearing that Jesus was passing by, cries aloud for aid. Our Lord passes on, and the crowd reprove the blind man; but he cries the more loudly, and our Lord, halting when Bartimeus was beyond the reach of his own voice, commands those about him to call the blind man. The summons is conveyed to Bartimeus, and, casting away the incumbrance of his upper garment, he rises from the ground and comes to him. This is the account of Mark; that of Matthew is substantially the same, except that he speaks of two (xx. 29), but he has dropped the mention of the name, and the circumstance that Jesus called him by the medium of others, and the throwing off his garment, which marks so strongly the eagerness of his hope. The specification of names, which are omitted in Matthew, is remarkable in other passages, Jairus (Mark v. 22); Simon, Alexander, and Rufus (xv. 21).

Mark (ii. 18) says the disciples of John and the Pharisees “were keeping fast” (ἦσαν νηστεύοντες), which explains their coming to Jesus to ask why his disciples did not do the same. This is characteristic of the self-righteous, who make their own practice a standard for others. In Matthew (ix. 14) it is more generally and tamely given, without mention of the fast which the others were then keeping, or of the Pharisees as taking

part in the question. In the narrative of the event which gave rise to our Lord's warning against the leaven of the Pharisees, Matthew (xvi. 5) only says, "When they were come to the other side they had forgotten to take bread;" Mark (viii. 14), "They had not in the ship with them more than one loaf." It may seem a trifling circumstance, yet I think it worth notice.

In the introduction of the prophecy concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, Mark (xiii. 1) relates that, as he was going out of the Temple, one of his disciples said to him, "Master, look what large stones and what large buildings!" Such an exclamation was naturally suggested by the unusual size of the substructions by which the Temple was supported, precisely at the place where they must have descended, in order to cross the valley and reach the Mount of Olives, from which his prophecy was delivered. Matthew (xxiv. 1) says that as he went out from the Temple "the disciples came to him to show him the buildings of the temple;" as if the whole body, or a considerable part, had gathered round him, for the purpose of drawing his attention to the architecture of the Temple, instead of its being the passing remark of one, suggested by the special locality. Luke's account is still more vague (xxi. 5): "When some said concerning the Temple that it is adorned with beautiful stones and offerings," &c., a remark that might have been made anywhere, at any time. Matthew omits the interesting circumstance which Mark specifies (xiii. 3), that when our Lord prophesied the

destruction of the Temple he was "right over against it." Luke (xxi. 6) does not even mention the place where the prophecy was delivered.

So in Mark xii. 41, our Lord's position when he noticed the act of the poor widow is distinctly marked. "As he sat over against the treasury," the place in which, according to the Talmudists, thirteen tubes were fixed, to receive contributions. Luke (xxi. 1) more vaguely says, "He looked up, and saw the rich men casting their gifts into the treasury." Mark notices that the people were casting in copper, χαλκόν, the money of the poor. Luke uses the general word δῶρα. Mark, with the same precision, represents our Lord, when sending his disciples on their mission, as forbidding them to take εἰς τὴν ζώνην χαλκόν, the *viaticum* of poor travellers, such as they were. Luke (ix. 3) substitutes ἀργύριον, which Matthew (x. 9) expands into μὴ χρυσὸν, μὴδὲ ἄργυρον, an unnecessary prohibition, surely, in their circumstances. Gold money must have been rare indeed, in the purses of the fishermen of Galilee (Acts iii. 6); yet the words in Matthew would lead one to suppose, that each had a hoard of gold and silver to draw from.

In the narrative of our Lord's apprehension, Mark (xiv. 51) introduces a circumstance not found in Matthew or Luke, but which strongly indicates an eyewitness. "And there followed him a certain young man, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body; and the young men laid hold on him, and he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked." There was

no motive to invent such a circumstance ; nothing in the narrative hangs upon it ; but it is in itself highly probable. Roused by the commotion which our Lord's apprehension excited, the young man had risen hastily from bed, and, without waiting to put on his tunic, had wrapped himself in a bed-sheet of linen, which, on being seized by the guard, remained in their hands, leaving the wearer free to make his escape, which he could not have done from a close-fitting garment, like the tunic.

If we compare the accounts given respectively by Mark and the other evangelists, especially Matthew, of our Lord's actions and discourses, we shall find that where they differ, the advantage, in point of credibility, is in favour of Mark. Mark (i. 30) relates the entrance of our Lord into Peter's house, and his cure of his mother-in-law, as immediately following his first appearance as a divine teacher in the synagogues, which itself closely succeeded the call of Simon and Andrew, James and John ; while Matthew (viii. 14) represents an expedition of our Lord into all Galilee, preaching and working miracles, as well as the delivery of the sermon on the mount, as intervening between these two events. There are special reasons in this case for preferring the order of Mark, since Matthew (ix. 9) had not yet been called ; while Mark, if there be any truth in the ecclesiastical tradition of Peter's connection with the composition of his Gospel, derived his information from the best possible authority. Nor is it in itself very probable that our Saviour should deliver his sermon on the mount,



before the number of his apostles was complete. In Mark (iii. 13) the going up into the mountain follows the call of Levi (Mark ii. 14), and is accompanied by the selection of the Twelve. Matthew (iv. 12) describes our Saviour as removing from Nazareth to Capernaum, coupling with his change of abode the supposed fulfilment of a prophecy. The account of Mark, though he makes no mention of his residence in Capernaum, previous to the call of Peter and the sons of Zebedee, and seems to imply that it was in consequence of Peter's call that he came to Capernaum, and took up his abode in his house, is not perhaps inconsistent with that of Matthew; but the manner in which the latter evangelist has connected events has been evidently influenced by his peculiar leaning, to find everywhere fulfilments of Old Testament prophecies.

In Mark (iii. 21) we are told that the friends of Jesus (*οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ*), who appear, from the subsequent history, to have been his mother and brethren, were alarmed at the state of mind in which he appeared to be, and wished to place him under restraint—*ἐξῆλθον κρατῆσαι αὐτόν, ἔλεγον γὰρ ὅτι ἐξέστη*. The excitement which produced the alarm of his friends was maliciously turned by the scribes who came down from Jerusalem, to the disparagement of his miraculous powers. According to the philosophy of the times, such a mental state as they attributed to him was the result of dæmoniacal possession, and they alleged that he cast out dæmons by virtue of the power of the most potent of them, Beelzebub. Here we see a

natural sequence of events. The same charge of casting out dæmons by Beelzebub twice is introduced by Matthew (ix. 34, xii. 27), but he has omitted altogether to notice the apprehensions which our Lord's own friends entertained of his unsound state of mind, and leaves us without the clue which Mark supplies to the reason of this special imputation. This "calumny of the Holy Spirit" indicated at once a perversity of mind and corruption of heart, which left no hope of repentance, nor consequently prospect of forgiveness, either in the present or the future age. In Matthew, besides the omission of the characteristic feature of the narrative, various other sayings of our Lord, having no special reference to this charge, are introduced (xii. 32-37), while Mark, with more probability, describes him as confining himself wholly to the exposure of its absurdity. The addition in Matthew, "If I by Beelzebub cast out dæmons, by whom do your children cast them out?" disturbs the order of our Lord's reasoning, introduces an extraneous argument, and places him on the same footing with the common exorcist.

A comparison of Matthew xiv. 1-13 with Mark vi. 14-29, in the account of the execution of John the Baptist will show, that if either evangelist is to be considered as an epitomizer of the other, the character belongs to Matthew rather than to Mark. It is observable, too, that Mark gives a more favourable view than Matthew of the relation between the Baptist and Herod. Matthew says that "he wished to put him to death, but feared the people, because they held

him to be a prophet." Mark says, "he feared John, knowing him to be a just and holy man, and kept him with him (*συνετήρει αὐτόν*), and when he heard him, did many things, and heard him gladly." This more lenient judgment, proceeding from a Christian writer, whose bias would be against the Tetrarch, is entitled to the preference; it is, besides, in accordance with the character of Herod (Joseph. Ant. xviii. 8).

Mark gives a more connected account than Matthew of our Lord's proceedings after the feeding of the 4000, which took place on the eastern shore of the lake. Thence they crossed, Matthew says, to the neighbourhood of Magdala, Mark, of Dalmanutha (a variation not likely to proceed from an epitomizer), on the western side, and again to the eastern. Matthew, then, without explanation, brings them to the neighbourhood of Cæsarea Philippi, while Mark informs us that they passed through Bethsaida, which lies north of the lake, and in the route towards Cæsarea. Comp. Matt. xvi. 1-13; Mark viii. 10-27.

It has been imputed to Mark, that he has introduced in an unsuitable place (iv. 21) the saying of our Lord respecting the light which is not brought to be put under a bushel, but to be set upon a stand, which Matthew (v. 14) more appropriately connects with the description of his disciples as the light of the world. The same thought may be appropriate in more than one connection, and the same illustration may have been used more than once by our Lord. It is certainly not out of place where it occurs in Mark.

The apostles had asked him the meaning of the parable of the sower, and before furnishing them with the explanation, he had told them (v. 11) that it was given to them to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God, but that those who stood without* were addressed in parables, in order that, in the language of the prophet, they might not understand and be converted. He then explains the parable of the sower, and having done so, resumes the train of thought of v. 11. The truths which he had concealed from the multitude, but communicated to them, were not for ever to be kept secret; the lamp, though it might temporarily be concealed, was brought to give light, not to be hidden under a bushel or a bed; its destination was to be placed where its light might be diffused.† “Nothing is hidden but with the ultimate purpose of its being made manifest; nothing kept secret but that in due time it might come abroad. Let every man hear the truth who has ears to hear,”

* On this phrase De Wette has founded an argument for the late origin of Mark's Gospel, as if it must have been borrowed from the epistles of Paul, in which it frequently occurs as descriptive of the unbelieving world (1 Cor. 5, 12; 1 Thess. 4, 12). But the phrase in Mark is not, as in the epistles, *οἱ ἔξω*, descriptive of a class, but *ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς ἔξω*, where *ἐκεῖνοι* is used, as the critics say, *δεκτικῶς*, “those who are out yonder,” pointing to the multitude who, while Jesus was conversing with his disciples alone, stood at a distance.

† Matthew says, “Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel;” Mark, “Is a candle brought to be placed under a bushel or under a bed?” It may be placed there, but that is not the purpose of bringing it.

i. e. a mind prepared to listen. Thus all appears connected and appropriate. "Take heed what ye hear; with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you"—the accessions of knowledge which you shall receive will be proportioned to the attention with which you listen. He that hath this quality shall gain increase of knowledge; without it even the little he may have will be lost. In the parallel passage in Matthew (xiii. 12), the maxim "from him that hath not," &c., is connected with the inability of the multitude to understand our Lord's parables; in Mark, more appropriately as it seems, with the exhortation to listen to instruction in order to profit by it.

Luke's βλέπετε πῶς ἀκούετε (viii. 18) is more suitable to the connection than Mark's τί ἀκούετε (iv. 24). But is not this rather a presumption that Luke copied and corrected Mark than *vice versâ*?

It has been imputed to Mark,* that in relating the question of the lawyer to Christ (xii. 28) he has mistaken its drift, and made our Lord answer it by quoting that which (Deut. vi.) stands first in numerical order, whereas in Matthew the question is simply "What is the great commandment?" (xxii. 36.) But as the answer in Matthew is "This is the first and great commandment," the probability is that Mark has given the question most accurately. *First* has in neither case any reference to number, but to precedence in importance.

In the warning to flee from the impending destruc-

* Paulus Commentar. ad loc.

tion, Mark (xiii. 16) says, "Let not him that is in the field turn back"—*ἄραι τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ*. A man working in the field laid aside his loose upper garment: "Nudus ara, sere nudus;" and he is exhorted to flee just as he is, in his simple tunic. In Matthew xxiv. 18, *τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ* might seem a warning not to go back to fetch his wardrobe.

It may, however, be very well admitted that Matthew's arrangement is preferable to Mark's, or that he introduces sayings of our Lord in a more appropriate connection, without at all impairing Mark's claim to originality, or even to priority. The two evangelists agree (Matt. xviii. 1; Mark ix. 38) in representing Jesus as reproving his disciples for disputing about pre-eminence in his kingdom by setting a little child in the midst of them, but differ in the lesson with which the act was accompanied. In Matthew it is, "Whosoever shall humble himself as this little child, the same is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven." In Mark, "Whosoever shall receive one of such children in my name, receiveth me; and whosoever shall receive me, receiveth not me, but Him who sent me,"—a saying just in itself, but not applicable to the dispute or question of the disciples. But if Mark had been epitomizing Matthew's Gospel, we can hardly suppose that he would abandon an appropriate connection, to adopt an inappropriate one. To the remark that he who received one of the children in Christ's name, received him, Mark adds the address of John, who relates that he had rebuked one who cast

out dæmons in his master's name without being a disciple, and our Lord's reply. This, it is true, interrupts the connection of his discourse, but why should it seem improbable that John, who elsewhere shows himself so sensitive to his master's honour (Luke ix. 54), and who appears in the synoptical Gospels more as a Boanerges than as the impersonation of Christian love, should have broken in upon his master's discourse somewhat abruptly? Again, in the narrative of the transfiguration, Mark (ix. 6) introduces the mention of the alarm of the three disciples, in connection with the proposal of Peter to build three tabernacles, one for Jesus, one for Moses, and one for Elias. It is thought that Matthew's account (xvii. 6) is more credible, who connects it with the overshadowing cloud and the voice that issued from it. Luke, again (ix. 32), with much less probability than either, represents the apostles as having been heavy with sleep, and the proposal to build the tabernacles as not made till Moses and Elias were actually departing; and the fear as coming over the three, when the visitors were entering into the cloud. I see no internal ground for imputing any error to Mark's narrative. He says nothing of the companions of our Lord being asleep, which is inconsistent with their being able to relate the history of the transfiguration, previous to their awaking; and surely there was sufficient reason for their alarm, and for Peter's not knowing what he said, in the change in their master's appearance, and the wonderful phenomenon of Moses and Elias talking with him. The

honest confession, that they were startled out of their self-possession at the beginning of the appearance, is omitted in Matthew, and changed into being heavy with sleep by Luke. I think it is clear in which of the three narrators the marks of an original testimony are found.

In Mark (xii. 34), after the account of our Lord's answer to the question of the scribe, "Which is the great commandment of all?" it is said, "And after that durst no man question him." These words occur in Matthew (xxii. 46) in immediate connection with some captious questions put by the Pharisees and Sadducees, and by one of the lawyers. Here, it is said, they are appropriate, but not so in Mark, who attributes no unfriendly feeling to the scribe, whom Jesus dismisses with high commendation. And those who maintain that Mark is the copyist of Matthew, impute to him that he has inserted this remark in the wrong place. If, however, we read, as we should do, the last clause of Mark xii. 34, not as exclusively referring to the words immediately preceding, but to the whole series of questions, beginning with that of the Herodians (v. 14), they are perfectly appropriate.

A more important difference between the evangelists Matthew and Mark is found in the account of the question of the Pharisees respecting the lawfulness of divorce. In Matthew (xix. 3), their question is said to have been, "Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife *for every cause*?" while in Mark (x. 2) the last words are wanting. Again, in Matthew, v. 9,

our Lord is represented as replying, "Whosoever shall put away his wife, *except it be for fornication*, and shall marry another, committeth adultery: and whoso marrieth her which is put away committeth adultery"; while in Mark it is "Whosoever shall put away his wife and marry another, committeth adultery against her, *and if a woman shall put away her husband and be married to another, she committeth adultery.*" Here are certainly two very important discrepancies; first, the exception of the case of unchastity on the part of the wife, and secondly, the supposition of a woman's putting away her husband. There were two schools among the doctors of the law in our Lord's time, one maintaining that divorce by a husband was allowable, in case of his finding anything in the wife which was displeasing to him, the other limiting it to adultery. The probability therefore is, that the question had reference to this dispute; and that Matthew has more correctly added "for every cause." In regard to the second discrepancy it may be observed, that the omission of the words "except it be for fornication," would not involve the harsh conclusion, that the man is bound for life to an adulterous woman, since the law had provided, that in such a case both the wife and the adulterer should be punished with death. It is further alleged that Mark, when he adds, that a woman who put away her husband committed adultery, has confounded Jewish law, in which divorce by the wife was not permitted, with the Greek and Roman, which allowed it. But the abandonment of husbands

by their wives was not uncommon in that corrupt age, and might be described by our Lord by the same word (*ἀπολῦσαι*) as he had used before; the formal and legal divorce by the man being expressed by *βιβλίον ἀποστασίου γράφειν*. Salome, the daughter of Antipater, being on bad terms with her husband Costobarus, sent him *γραμμάτιον, ἀπολυομένη τὸν γάμον*, (Joseph. Ant. xv. 7), though contrary, as the historian observes, to Jewish law. Herodias married Herod Antipas, her husband's brother, *διαστᾶσα ζῶντος τοῦ ἀνδρός* (Joseph Ant. xviii. 7).^{*} Example in such high station would be infectious, and call for special animadversion on the part of a religious teacher. Mark, if he be the John-Mark of the Acts, was a Jew by birth; and, though it may be true that, writing with a special view to Gentile readers, he explains Jewish customs and Jewish words, he could scarcely have so confounded Jewish with Roman law, as to suppose a *right* in a Jewish woman formally to divorce her husband. Our Lord's decision in this case goes beyond the question of the schools; but is a natural extension of the principles which he had laid down. There are other variations between the two evangelists sufficient to show, that Mark reports our Saviour's words in a more concise form than Matthew, but by no means that he abridges Matthew's Gospel. The addition of Mark, on the other hand, that the disciples questioned their master *in private* respecting this decision, which seemed to bear harshly upon the husband, is very

* See Selden, *Ux. Heb.*, Lib. 3, p. 436.

probable. They were not likely to show dissatisfaction with his teaching immediately, and in the presence of his enemies.

Both in Matthew (xix. 16) and Mark (x. 31) occurs the declaration that many who are first shall be last, and the last first. A comparison of the connection in which it is introduced by the evangelists respectively will show, I think, that Mark has more correctly apprehended its spirit. In Mark it follows the discourse on riches, occasioned by the question asked by the young man who had great possessions; and the promise given to Peter, that sacrifices made to the profession of the Gospel, should be rewarded even in this life, as well as in the age to come. How appropriate to this whole narrative is the remark, that many who were first—first in rank and worldly estimation—should be last in the rewards of the world to come! In Matthew, on the other hand, it winds up the parable of the labourers in the vineyard, where it not only has no connection with the moral of the parable, but is absolutely at variance with it; the last-called being placed, indeed, on an equality with the first-called, but not being set before them.

Mark (x. 35) relates in general terms the request on the part of the sons of Zebedee to Jesus, that they might sit one upon his right hand, the other on his left, when he should come in his glory, but with this remarkable difference from Matthew, that Matthew (xix. 20) represents the mother as asking it on behalf of her sons, while in Mark the apostles themselves prefer

the petition. Does not this look like a softening down of Mark's narrative, as if the request, which betrayed so much selfish ambition, came less offensively from a fond mother than from the two apostles? Luke (xxii. 24) throws the transaction still more into the shade by his very general expression—"There was a strife among them which of them should be accounted the greatest," besides transferring it to a very unsuitable place in the history, the evening of the Passover, subsequently to the institution of the Lord's Supper.

In the prediction of the siege of Jerusalem and the desolation of Judæa, our Lord in Matthew (xxiv. 20) is represented as saying, "Pray that your flight be not in winter, *nor on the Sabbath day.*" Mark (xiii. 18) has not the words "on the Sabbath," and those who regard him as the copier and epitomizer of Matthew suppose him to have omitted them, because his Gospel was written for Gentiles, not for Jews. The motive seems inadequate. The Sabbath of the Jews was, next to the practice of circumcision, the best known of the national peculiarities, and this portion of the Gospel exclusively concerned the Jews. It is quite unnecessary to suppose a designed variation on either side; two independent reporters might differ in such a trifle; the mention of the Sabbath would come naturally to the mind of a Jewish narrator. It might be said with some plausibility that our Lord, who had taught his disciples to dispense with sabbatical strictness, was not likely to exhort them to pray that their

flight might not be on the Sabbath-day, when he had so emphatically placed the preservation of life above its observance. If there is a Gentile tendency in Mark, there is certainly a strong Jewish tendency in Matthew, and he was at least as likely to insert such a passage as Mark to omit it. At any rate, it is only a case of variation, not involving contradiction.

If we compare the accounts given respectively by Mark and the other evangelists, especially Matthew, of the actions and discourses of our Lord, we shall generally find those of Mark recommended by their internal evidence. For example, in the conversation between Christ and the Syrophœnician woman (Mark vii. 25-30; Matt. xv. 22-28). When she prefers her request for the cure of her daughter, our Lord answers, according to Mark, "*Suffer the children to be filled first of all*; for it is not right to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs:" but according to Matthew he only says, "It is not right to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs." Between the two expressions there is all the difference of a harsh refusal, and a gentle putting aside of the request. Our Lord's mission was no doubt primarily to the Jews; he had endeavoured, according to Mark, to conceal himself from the people of the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, but in vain; according to Matthew he had declared, that he was not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. This woman was, as Mark informs us, a Gentile (Ελληνίς), and he therefore intimates to her that the time was not yet come, when those of her

nation could share the benefits of his divine power. There is no humiliating contrast drawn between the two classes, as if the food destined for the children would be profaned by being cast to the dogs; but the children of the house must *first* be served, and the food prepared for them not be given away till they are filled. And this brings out the beauty and aptness of the answer, which ready-witted affection suggested to the mother. "True, Lord: for the dogs (*κυνάρια*)* *under the table* eat of the children's crumbs." Adopting his own illustration, she skilfully employs it to make good her petition. "The dogs" (not unclean animals banished from the house, but favourites, admitted to the same apartment with the children) "are not condemned to wait till the children have finished their meal, but," as it goes on, "gather the crumbs. And so, while thou displayest thy beneficent powers profusely among thy countrymen, deign to let fall one blessing upon the head of a Gentile."

In the account of the question put to our Lord (Matt. xix. 16; Mark x. 17; Luke xviii. 18), there is a variation, in regard to which the advantage in point of connection seems to be with Mark. In Matthew, some one asks our Lord, "Good Master, what good thing must I do that I may have eternal life?" and our Lord replies (according to the probable

* The diminutive in this case is evidently, like *catellus*, in Latin, expressive of fondness, not contempt. Xenophon (Cyrop. viii. 4, 9) uses it of a dog leaping up on his master. In Matt. vii. 8, it is *μη δῶτε τὸ ἄγιον τοῖς κύνεσσι*.

reading) "Why dost thou ask me about what is good? there is one Being only that is good (εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγαθός). In Mark, the question is, "Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?" and the answer, "Why dost thou call me good? there is no one good but one, God." The reply in Matthew is not very pertinent to the question, since the inquirer had not asked who was good, but what good thing he was to do to obtain eternal life. In Mark (and Luke) all is consistent.

Mark's statement (xi. 11) that our Lord, after his triumphal entry into Jerusalem, entered the temple, and looked round on all things, and then retired to Bethany for the night, and next day drove out the money-changers and others, has been thought less credible than that of Matthew, who represents the clearing as taking place the same evening, when the excited multitude were ready to support him in the act. On the other hand, the question of the priests on the following morning, "By what authority doest thou these things?" (Matt. xxi. 23,) suits better with Mark's account than his own. For Matthew mentions nothing that he had *done* that day, and the priests were more likely to have remonstrated against such an act as clearing the temple, than against the acclamations of the children. John refers this act of our Lord's to an earlier part of his ministry. In Luke (xx. 2), the question of the priests appears even less pertinent than in Matthew, as he represents them as coming to Jesus, and asking him by what authority *he did these*

things? nothing having been previously mentioned, but his teaching in the temple.

Mark has been charged by Strauss with a disposition to exaggerate the statements of the other evangelists. The reverse is rather the case—certainly in the following instances. In reporting our Lord's use of the simile of the grain of mustard-seed, Matthew (xiii. 32) and Luke (xiii. 19) represent him as saying, "it becometh a great tree, so that the fowls of heaven lodge in its branches." The botany of the East has been searched with fruitless labour for a plant of the mustard kind, which, springing from the smallest of seeds, grows into a tree of such size that the birds of the air come and lodge in its branches. The passage in Mark (iv. 31) presents no difficulty: he does not call it a tree, nor does he say that the birds of the air lodge *in its branches*, but *under its shadow*. This is true of the plant, even in our climate, much more in the East. If there has been exaggeration here it has not been on the part of Mark. So, in the account of the resurrection, Mark's "young man clad in a white robe," becomes in Matthew (xxviii. 2, 3) "an angel whose countenance was as lightning and his garment white as snow." In the history of the miracle of the swine, Mark (v. 1-10) speaks of only one dæmoniac, and relates an address by him to our Lord, which could only have proceeded from a single individual. Matthew (viii. 28) speaks of two, though it is extremely improbable that two fierce and mischievous madmen should be dwelling together in the same place, and come jointly to address

him in a joint speech. In the narrative of our Lord's walking on the water, Matthew (xiv. 29) increases the marvel by the addition of Peter's attempting the same thing, and being rescued by his Master. The authenticity of this addition is rendered doubtful, not only by the silence of Mark, who says, after mentioning the alarm of the disciples, "immediately he talked with them, and said unto them, Be of good cheer; it is I: be not afraid; and went up unto them into the ship," but also by the narrative of John vi. 21.

It may, perhaps, seem a confirmation of Strauss's remark, that Mark (xiv. 30) says that our Lord forewarned Peter that before the cock crew *twice* he would deny him thrice; whereas the other evangelists (Luke xxii. 34; Matthew xxvi. 34; John xiii. 38) speak only of the cock crowing once. But I believe our Lord only meant to refer to the second cock-crowing, as a period of the night midway between midnight and dawn; though his words received a remarkable and literal fulfilment.

The variations between Matthew and Mark are chiefly in regard to the discourses of our Lord. Of these Matthew has preserved large records which do not appear in Mark. The general course of the history and the special events are much the same in both evangelists. But there are exceptions; some things are related by Matthew to which there is nothing correspondent in Mark. And if we examine them we shall find that, like Peter's walking on the sea, they add nothing to the credibility of the narra-

tive, but rather the contrary.* Mark begins with the preaching of John and the baptism of Jesus, without mention or subsequent allusion to the conception, birth, or childhood of our Lord. The genuineness of the history of these events in Matthew has been called in question; it was probably wanting in the Hebrew original; there is no reason to doubt that it has always stood in the Greek. Its absence in Mark is a strong presumption of the early origin of his Gospel. It is inconceivable that if Matthew and Luke had preceded him, and he knew their writings, he should have deliberately omitted all notice of this part of our Lord's history; it is not less so, that if he had written after the time when curiosity was directed to the early years of our Lord, he should have published a history of his own, without some equivalent for it. It cannot be said that, writing for Gentiles, he left all this out as essentially Jewish, and uninteresting to them. They held it to be a rule that the birth of distinguished men should be marked by prodigies,† if not by a supernatural origin. Luke had at least as strong a wish as Mark to present Christianity in a form acceptable to the heathen world; yet this did not prevent him

* Professor Norton (Genuineness of the Gospels, I. p. 211) has noticed some of the narratives peculiar to Matthew, but without reason considers them as interpolations.

† *Εὐαγόρας γίνεται, περὶ οὗ τὰς μὲν φήμας καὶ τὰς μαρτείας καὶ τὰς ὄψεις τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὑπνοῖς γενομένας, ἐξ ὧν φανερὴ μείζων ἂν γεγονὼς ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπον, αἰροῦμαι καταλιπεῖν, οὐκ ἀπιστῶν τοῖς λεγομένοις.*—Isocr. Evagoras. Instances of the reference of the birth of distinguished personages to supernatural sources abound in profane history.

from incorporating into his history an account of the supernatural birth of both Jesus and his forerunner.

The indifference, not to say contempt, with which our Lord was viewed by his fellow-townsmen on his first appearance as a public teacher, is a presumption against the reality of those extraordinary events by which his birth and childhood are said to have been marked. If it should be said that these events had then been forgotten but subsequently recovered, we may naturally ask, what reliance can be placed upon the minute details with which they are related, more than half a century after their supposed occurrence? * But besides this, the events themselves, at least as related by Matthew, have an air of romance and of adaptation to subsequent conceptions of our Lord's character, such as distinguish these chapters in a very marked manner from the history of our Lord's public life. Strauss appears to me to be completely successful, when he refers the origin of this history to the desire to realize the Jewish idea of the manner, in which the appearance of the Messiah should be ushered in. And the marked dissimilarity between this portion of the Gospels and the narrative of our Lord's public life, is, to my mind, the strongest proof that the principle,

* In Matthew the name of our Lord's father is never mentioned, except in the two first chapters; in Mark his countrymen call him "the son of Mary" (vi. 3); in Luke (iv. 22) and John (i. 46) they call him "son of Joseph." Here we see another trait of Mark's accuracy, for the whole history shows that his mother was a widow, and therefore it was more natural that Jesus should be known as *her* son.

which is sound in the first case, is unsound in the second. The misapplications of prophecy in the narrative of Matthew, the improbabilities of the story of the Magi and the travelling star, of the massacre of Bethlehem and the flight into Egypt, and the incompatibility of the mention of Herod's jealousy with the precise chronology of Luke, have often been pointed out, and no explanation of them has ever been given, which can satisfy unbiassed historical criticism. They create only embarrassment to the defender of Christianity, who will find his task greatly lightened, by admitting them to be of subsequent growth to the primitive and genuine tradition, which began, as Mark's Gospel begins, with the preaching of the Baptist and the ministry of Jesus—Jesus from Nazareth.

The Temptation is briefly noticed by Mark (i. 12). "And immediately the spirit driveth him into the wilderness. And he was there in the wilderness forty days, tempted of Satan, and was with the wild beasts, and the angels ministered unto him." In Matthew (iv. 1-11) and Luke (iv. 1-13) the narrative is expanded, three several temptations being enumerated, with change of place from the desert to the Temple at Jerusalem, and thence to a high mountain. Matthew mentions a fast of forty days and forty nights; Luke says, "In those days he did eat nothing." Here is a gradual strengthening of the wonder; Mark saying nothing of the fast, and Luke changing the general expression of Matthew into an absolute abstinence from food.

I have already said that the question before us must be judged of by the ordinary principles of historical criticism, which limits and measures the credibility of a narrative, by the narrator's means of knowing the facts which he relates. Now all that could be known, by external testimony, of this transaction was, that our Lord, after his baptism and the descent of the Spirit, went into the desert in that state of religious exaltation and excitement, which was the outward sign of the psychical condition described as "being in the spirit;" and that he remained in a wild and barren region for an indefinite time, called forty days in Jewish idiom. The ministration of angels was also the Jewish mode of expressing that Providence watched, in circumstances of want and danger, over the lives of pious men.* So far nothing is related but what the historian might have learnt from ordinary sources, or inferred without special knowledge. That this period was one of temptation may have been made known by our Saviour, and, according to the universal belief of the age, to which his own language elsewhere conforms, it would be described by him as the work of the Evil Principle. But the details of the Temptation, if real, could be known only from himself; the suggestion of a vision finds no countenance from the narrative, and if we receive it as a fact, we must suppose that he related to his disciples his personal intercourse and dialogue with Satan, his conveyance by his agency to the pinnacle of the Temple and the summit of a

* Ps. xci. 2.

mountain, and the offer of all the kingdoms of the world. Believing that the story no more represents a real transaction, than the introduction to the Book of Job, I prefer to regard it as the work of some one expanding the brief hint which the Gospel of Mark contains, and I feel that by this view of it a great difficulty is removed from the path of the serious inquirer.*

The account of the manner in which money was obtained to pay the tribute, by catching a fish, in whose mouth a stater should be found, is peculiar to Matthew (xvii. 27), and is certainly very little in accordance with our Lord's character, since, humble as the means of the disciples were, a miracle could not be required to furnish so trifling a sum. The promise to Peter (Matt. xvi. 18) that he should be the rock on which *the Church* should be built, betrays a later age, when the idea of a separate religious community had arisen, quite different from our Lord's conception of the kingdom of heaven. The addition which Matthew (xii. 40) makes to our Lord's declaration, that no sign should be given to that generation but the sign of the prophet Jonah—"for as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale, so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth,"—has very much the appearance

* Ary Scheffer's picture of "The Last Temptation" is much admired as a work of imagination; viewing it as representing a real scene, in which the fiend bargains with the Saviour, and the Saviour parleys with the fiend, "*incredulus odi*."

of originating subsequently to the resurrection. It makes our Lord intimate his resurrection, and consequently his death, to his enemies, long before he did so to his disciples, to whom he only began to speak of them shortly before his transfiguration. It is also inappropriate. Our Lord was a sign to his generation, as Jonah was to the Ninevites—a preacher of repentance as the means of escaping national ruin. So Luke leads us (xi. 30) to understand the allusion. Jonah's abode in the whale's belly could be no sign to the Ninevites, who saw nothing of it. The account, peculiar to Matthew, of the saints who came forth from their graves, went into the Holy City, and appeared unto many (Matthew xxvii. 53), has been a stumbling-block to thoughtful readers. *The saints*, we presume, are those who had believed in Christ, between the commencement of his preaching and his resurrection. Such a collective epithet for believers implies a considerably later age than that of the event recorded, and the whole account has the air of a popular rumour, or the conversion of dreams into supernatural appearances. The circumstance of Pilate's washing his hands on the judgment-seat, before the assembled multitude and the Jewish authorities, is so discordant from the character and bearing of Roman magistrates and governors, and so readily suggested to the Jewish mind by the law (Deut. xxi. 1) respecting the purgation in cases of unknown homicide, that, as it is found only in Matthew, we may be well allowed to doubt it. The message of Pilate's wife, as it would certainly not be proclaimed

aloud in the tribunal, could not have been known to the historian from any authentic source, and may therefore be placed in the class of uncertain rumours.* The absence in Mark's earlier record (as also in Luke and John) of all mention of the sealing of the sepulchre, the setting of a watch, and their consenting to acknowledge a simultaneous falling asleep, joined to its prominence in Matthew's narrative, would certainly excite, in a mind judicially accustomed to scrutinize testimony, the suspicion of a subsequent strengthening of evidence on those points where a deficiency had been alleged. A writer who found such rumours current, might, in good faith, interweave them with his history, or append them to it, as it is probable the Greek translator of Matthew did.† This whole narrative comes in as a supplement: verse 10 leaves the history where Mark leaves it—with the injunction to proceed to Galilee. We have not the same critical evidence in this case against the genuineness of the concluding verses of the Gospel as in Mark, but the tone of the entire passage is of a later age.

Among the peculiarities which distinguish Mark from Matthew, is the absence in the former of those misapplications of prophecies in the Old Testament to our Saviour, which are so frequent in Matthew.

* It has been observed that the phrase *κατ' ὄναρ* occurs five times in the two first chapters of Matthew, but nowhere else in the New Testament, except in Matt. xxvii. 19, in the narrative of Pilate's wife's dream.

† *Διεφημίσθη ὁ λόγος οὗτος παρὰ Ἰουδαίους μέχρι τῆς σήμερον.*
—Matt. xxviii. 15.

In one instance, at least, this proneness to find types and prognostics of the Messiah in passages of a widely-different meaning, has led to an improbable representation of a fact. According to Matthew, Judas was induced to betray his master for the sum of thirty pieces of silver—which, if Jewish shekels are meant, equivalent to Attic tetradrachms, would be about three pounds ten of English money—a sum so paltry, that Dr. Macknight, justly astonished that a man, whose ruling passion was avarice, should sell his master for such a consideration, was led to frame the hypothesis that he was actuated by ambition, and wished to place him in a position in which he should be compelled to exert his miraculous powers, and at once establish his kingdom. In subsequently mentioning the price, Matthew says, in connection with the purchase of the potter's field (xxvii. 9), "Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet (Zechariah xi. 13), saying, And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value, and gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me." The perusal of the passage in Zechariah will show how little foundation there is for this application of it. The thirty pieces of silver are the mean price at which the prophet's services as a shepherd were valued, and stand in no relation of analogy to the price of Judas's treachery. The Gospel of Mark not only has no reference to the prophecy of Zechariah, but says nothing of thirty pieces of silver

being the price. "They were glad, and promised to give him money" (xiv. 11). We cannot avoid drawing the inference, that the desire to connect an incident in our Saviour's history with a passage in the prophecies, has led to the specification of so improbable a price.*

Another example of a similar kind is found in the account of our Lord's entry into Jerusalem. There is a passage in Zechariah (ix. 9), in which the daughter of Jerusalem is called upon to rejoice, for "behold, thy king cometh unto thee, lowly, and riding upon an ass, even upon a colt the foal of an ass." The Hebrew particle *vau*, which I have rendered *even*, means also *and*: it has been so rendered by the Septuagint. Mark, supported by the independent

* The mention of the potter's field rests upon a corrupt reading of Zechariah xi. 13, which should be rendered, instead of "cast them to the potter in the house of Jehovah,"—where assuredly no potter ever exercised his trade"—"cast them into the treasury in the house of Jehovah." See Revised Translation of the Old Testament. The Septuagint renders it "cast them into the melting-pot" (χωρευτήριον) as if the authors had derived רִצְיָ' from רִצְיָ' to mould. There is no mention at all of a field in Zechariah, though this is essential even to the apparent correspondence with the event mentioned in Matthew. In the Book of Acts (i. 18), it is said that Judas "purchased a field with the reward of iniquity," words which the harmonists have vainly striven to reconcile with the account in Matthew. That account dismissed, no difficulty remains. The reward paid him, instead of thirty pieces of silver, was enough to purchase a small estate (χωρίον, *fundus*. See Xen. Hell. ii. 4). As he fell headlong, soon after, over one of the precipices with which Jerusalem and its neighbourhood abound, (πρηνὴς γερόμενος,) it is not wonderful that his death should be deemed a divine judgment.

testimony of John, speaks only of a colt being fetched and ridden upon, while Matthew mentions both an ass and a colt as being fetched, and both ridden upon (*ἐκάθισεν ἐπ' αὐτῶν αὐτῶν*, xxi. 7). It is easy to decide which account is the more credible, and suspicion naturally arises, that the mention of the two animals has proceeded from the desire to make the fulfilment of the prophecy more precise and striking.

I by no means, however, attribute to the writer a wilful corruption of the tradition in order to serve a purpose. In the growth and fashioning of a popular legend there is in general no conscious and designed falsification. The very circumstance that the prophet appeared to speak of two animals would, to uncritical minds, be good evidence to prove that two were used. We need only open a volume of a popular interpreter of prophecy, to perceive how much the foregone conclusion, that a prediction must have been accomplished in a particular event, predisposes the expounder to acquiesce in forced interpretations, to accept doubtful statements, and make light of weighty objections; yet who would call Newton or Keith dishonest men?

The history of the crucifixion supplies another example, in which the true nature and sequence of events has been obscured, through the desire to find fulfilments of prophecy, and in which the Gospel of Mark, being free from the influence of this desire, furnishes the solution of the difficulties which it has created to harmonists and commentators. On the arrival of the procession at the place of execution the

first thing which occurred was, according to the Gospel of Mark (xv. 23), that a potion, composed of wine mingled with myrrh, was offered * to our Lord, and refused by him. The custom of presenting such a mixture to those who had been condemned to execution was peculiar to the Jews, as appears both from their own writers and the absence of any trace of it among the Romans. The extracts given by Wetstein from the Rabbins, do indeed speak of frankincense, not myrrh, as being mixed with the wine,† but the difference is more apparent than real. They both belong to the same class of substances—resins—and the effect of both would be the same. They are stimulant, exhilarating, and tonic, and were mixed with wine to increase its efficacy. The object of its administration was to produce artificial excitement, which should prevent the sufferer from sinking under the torture that awaited him. Such relentings of humanity are popularly manifested in other countries. In England, formerly, criminals were allowed to drink on their way to execution. It was not wonderful that our Saviour refused it. He had

* Ἐδίδουν αὐτῷ πικρὴν ἐσμυρνιασμένον οἶνον ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβε. This sense belongs to the present and imperfect of δίδωμι. The Greeks said Δέχου τὸ διδόμενον, "take what is offered;" not τὸ δεδομένον or δοθέν.—Plato, Gorg. 499c.

† "Iis qui sententia judicum (the Sanhedrim) occiduntur bibendum *vinum et tus*, ne affligantur."—Masseecheth Semachoth. Wetstein on Mark xv. 23. According to another passage it was the women of Jerusalem who prepared these potions.

come deliberately to that hour. His death was to be at once a testimony and an example. Much remained to be accomplished, for which an unclouded mind was essential. Humane as was the motive with which the mixture was offered, to have received it would have been inconsistent with his character, and destructive of the purpose of his crucifixion.

Many of the commentators speak of the mixture presented to our Lord as a *stupefying* draught. But there is no narcotic or anæsthetic quality in myrrh,* or frankincense, or any of the kindred resins. We learn from the Third Book of the Maccabees (v. 2), that a mixture of wine and frankincense was given to elephants before a battle to excite them to fury—a plain proof that their tendency was not to produce stupefaction.

According to the Gospel of Matthew (xxvii. 34), the mixture offered to our Lord was vinegar mingled with gall. This variance has given rise to numerous expedients. In the Vatican and Cambridge MSS. *οἶνον* is substituted for *ὄξος*; Lachmann has taken it into his text, and Griesbach has marked it as of equal authority. Such endeavours to bring the evangelists into harmony are always suspicious to the critic, and the internal evidence is altogether in

* Pereira, *Materia Medica et Therapeutica*, I. p. 182. Myrrh is an ingredient in a well-known medicine, of a stimulant and tonic character, called steel-mixture. Narcotic and anæsthetic agents belong to an entirely different class of substances.

favour of the reading $\delta\acute{\xi}\omicron\varsigma$. Wine mingled with myrrh was a cordial, offered with a humane purpose; vinegar mingled with gall a nauseous compound, which could be presented only in cruel mockery. Each is appropriate to a particular view, but if we introduce $\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\nu$ into the text of Matthew, we have a reading appropriate to neither. If the purpose were humane, why mix gall? if cruel, why mix wine? The transaction is introduced in Matthew and Mark at precisely the same point in the narrative, immediately *after* the arrival at Golgotha, and *before* the crucifixion and the division of the garments. I cannot but think therefore that the same transaction is meant, though the writers differ in the description of the mixture offered.

How, then, came vinegar and gall to be substituted for myrrh and wine? Singularly enough, it is not in Matthew himself, ready as he generally is to allege the fulfilment of prophecy in our Saviour's history, that we have to seek the answer, but in the Gospel of John. He says (xix. 28), "Jesus, knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the Scripture might be fulfilled said, I thirst"; and it was on hearing this that one of the bystanders filled a sponge with vinegar and offered it to him. Now, there is no passage in Scripture which could be considered as receiving its fulfilment in this event, except Ps. lxix. 21. "In my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink." And to this the view of John was exclusively directed. He relates how, on hearing our Saviour's exclamation, some

one ran, and, filling a sponge with vinegar, reached it to him. He evidently considers it as a friendly act, which it would certainly not have been, had gall been mixed with it. Jesus received it as such; it is not said expressly that he drank it, but this is the obvious interpretation of the passage. A thin, acid wine, or vinegar, would be at hand—it was the ordinary beverage (*posca*) of the Roman soldiers; and as they would look forward to remaining on their post till sunset, when the bodies were to be taken down, they may have provided themselves with a vessel full of it.

But the passage in the Psalms speaks not only of vinegar, but of gall: "They gave me also gall for my meat;" and it should seem that others were not satisfied, as the fourth evangelist was, with the fulfilment of the prophecy regarding the vinegar: our Lord must also have had gall offered to him. Hence the change of the potion of wine and myrrh into one of gall and vinegar. Commentators have laboured hard to show that Matthew and Mark may have meant the same thing,* as if the nauseous compound of gall and vinegar, and the exhilarating and supporting draught of wine and myrrh, could be designated by interchangeable terms. If we follow the guidance of Mark, the whole transaction is clear

* Because bad wine is called vinegar in satire, they have supposed that the *οἶνος* of Mark and the *δξος* of Matthew might be the same. So, because myrrh is bitter, as well as gall, it has been argued that *χολή* might be used for *σμήρνα*. See Augustine de Consensu Evangelistarum.

enough. The wine and myrrh were offered and declined at the commencement of the execution; the vinegar was offered and received (ἐλαβε τὸ ὄξος) as an alleviation of the burning thirst at its close. Luke (xxiii. 36), speaks of the vinegar being offered in mockery, but John's account is far more credible; for Luke says nothing of the gall, without which there was no mockery in the offer of the vinegar.

There is another class of passages in which the difference between Matthew and Luke on the one hand, and Mark on the other, points strongly to priority on the part of Mark. The history of Christian dogma shows a perpetual tendency to the exaltation of the Saviour's dignity, in proportion as the lapse of time, and the change of his own relation to his followers, placed him more beyond the sphere of humanity. While they lived with him on earth, they were far from treating him with that reverential awe which they subsequently felt. Hence arises a presumption, that the Gospel which speaks of him in the plainest language, and with the greatest freedom, is the earliest of his biographies. This quality certainly belongs to Mark. There is a rough simplicity in his phrase, which those who followed him seem hardly to have thought respectful enough. Mark (i. 12), says of Jesus, "the spirit driveth him (ἐκβάλλει) into the wilderness:" Matthew, "he was led up of the spirit:" Luke, "he was led in the spirit." When he had withdrawn himself from the multitude, Mark says (i. 36), "Simon and those with him pursued him

(κατεδίωξαν), and told him, All men are seeking thee." Luke says (iv. 42), "The multitudes came to him and urged him not to depart from them." Mark, as has already been observed, relates that on one occasion the connections of our Lord attempted to lay hold of him, apprehensive that he was beside himself. Matthew and Luke omit this circumstance, as if it were disrespectful to their master. In the account of the cure of the man who had a withered hand, on the Sabbath day, Mark says (iii. 5), that Jesus "looked round with anger" on the hypocrites who were watching him. Matthew and Luke (Matt. xii. 11; Luke vi. 8) omit the circumstance of his anger. So again, when little children were brought to him, and the disciples found fault with them, Mark says (x. 14), Ἰησοῦς ἠγανάκτησε, "was much displeased." Matthew (xix. 15), Luke (vi. 8), omit the mention of his displeasure, perhaps influenced by a double motive (see p. 27). In the account of the storm on the lake (see p. 16), the disciples, in Mark, reproach our Lord with want of sympathy: "Master, carest thou not that we perish?" In Matthew it is "Lord, save us: we perish!"

In the narrative of our Lord's seeking fruit upon the fig-tree and finding none, Mark tells us plainly, that it was not the time of figs, apparently not thinking it derogatory from his master's honour, that, with his mind full of thoughts of infinite moment, he should have forgotten that it was not the season when edible figs were to be looked

for.* Matthew makes no mention of the season. Mark (xi. 21) represents Peter as saying, "The fig-tree which thou didst curse (ἣν κατηράσω) hath withered away." In Matthew (xxi. 20) the disciples simply observe, "How suddenly hath the fig-tree withered away!" The people of Nazareth, astonished at the teaching of Jesus, exclaim, according to Mark (vi. 3), "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?" but in Matthew (xiii. 55), "Is not this *the son* of the carpenter?" According to Mark (xiii. 32), our Saviour, speaking of his second coming, says, "Of that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels who are in heaven, *nor the Son*, but the Father only." Matthew (xxiv. 36) repeats the declaration, but omits the emphatic acknowledgment which Christ makes of the limitation of his own knowledge. Taken singly, these instances might seem of little weight; but it is difficult to resist their accumulated evidence.

There is an instructive difference in the manner in which Matthew and Mark respectively relate our Lord's vindication of himself and his disciples, in reference to the violation of the Sabbath (Matt. xii. 6; Mark ii. 27). In Mark, as in Luke, our Lord rests nothing on his personal dignity. In Matthew

* Οὐ γὰρ ἦν καιρὸς σύκων. Mark xi. 13. So Matt. xxi. 34, *ὁ καιρὸς τῶν κάρπων*, the time of the grapes being ripe, as the owner of the vineyard, of course, would not receive his rent in green grapes. The circumstance of the fig-tree having leaves proves that it was not dead, and explains our Lord's going to seek fruit upon it.

he claims to be something greater than the Temple ; an assumption hardly in character with the reserve which he showed respecting his own dignity at this period of his ministry, nor appropriate to his argument, as it was the act of his disciples, not his own, that was arraigned. It would be most in accordance with his argument, to take the words "the son of man" in the sense of man in general. "The sabbath was made for man, not man for the sabbath ; therefore the son of man is lord even of the sabbath." See Grotius, *ad loc.*, who observes, that Christ professed himself subject to the law while he lived, and therefore would not have claimed on his own authority to abrogate it.

Another ground for regarding Mark's Gospel as prior in order to the other two is the different manner in which they represent the performance of miracles. There are several instances in Mark in which the use of natural means is recognized. When the mission of the twelve is spoken of (Mark vi. 13) it is said, "*They anointed many sick with oil, and healed them.*" In Luke (ix. 6) it is, "They went through the villages, healing everywhere." In Mark's report (vi. 2) the people of Nazareth say, "What is this wisdom that is given him, that these mighty works are done by his hands?" In Matthew's (xiii. 54) it is simply, "Whence hath this man this wisdom and these mighty works?" Mark, in the same chapter (verse 5), says, "*He could not do any mighty work there, on account of their unbelief, except that he put his hands on a few sick, and healed*

them ;” Matthew (xiii. 58) that he *did* not many mighty works there. Mark relates that when a *καφὸς μογιλάος* was brought to Jesus (vii. 32), he took him apart, put his fingers in his ears, spat, and touched his tongue. Matthew (ix. 32), Luke (xi. 14), relate the cure of a dumb man,* without any mention of external means. In the account of the blind man cured at Bethsaida, Mark (viii. 22) minutely describes the process of the cure—our Lord taking him apart and restoring his sight, at first only imperfectly, and by the employment of his hands upon him.† This special cure is not mentioned in the other evangelists, but the style of the narrative is characteristic of Mark. In the account of the cure of the lunatic boy, Mark represents our Lord as questioning the father respecting the duration of the malady, and describes the violence of the paroxysm which followed the command to the evil spirit to come out, and which left the child to all appearance dead, till Jesus took him by the hand and raised him up. According to Matthew (xvii. 15), he only says, “Bring him hither to me :” and he rebuked him, and the *dæmon* came out of him, and the boy was healed from that moment. The instantaneousness of the cure, as described by Matthew, evidently tends to exalt the

* It may, perhaps, be alleged that this was not a case of organic defect but of sullen insanity, as he is said to be *δαμονιζόμενος*.

† Matthew (ix. 29) mentions, but very slightly, that Jesus touched the eyes of two blind men. The same remark applies to Matthew xx. 34, “*immediately they received their sight.*”

character of the miracle. In the case of Jairus's daughter, Mark represents the father as saying that his daughter was at the point of death—*ισχαρῶς ἔχει* (v. 23), Matthew (ix. 18) that she was dead already. In the scene at the house, Mark (v. 4,) dwells on the address to the maiden, the selection of the witnesses, the direction to give her food. Matthew sums up all in "The damsel arose." Mark (vii. 30) only says that when the Syrophœnician woman returned home, she found her daughter lying on the bed, and the dæmon gone out; Matthew (xv. 21) that our Lord said, "Be it unto thee even as thou wilt: and her daughter was made whole *from that very hour*." Mark describes the fig-tree as being found dried up the next morning, when the disciples passed that way again: Matthew says, "it withered instantly." A single instance of this kind would prove nothing; but a phenomenon extending through two parallel histories must have some cause in the peculiar circumstances of the writers. We can conceive no reason why Mark, if he had Matthew's narrative before him, should insert such circumstances as we have pointed out, but we can easily see why Matthew should omit them. Mark wrote simply to record; Matthew and Luke to impress and convince. I have already said that this whole question could only be argued on the ground that the evangelists were human biographers. And whoever undertook such an office without a leaning to that which exalted the power and worth of the subject of their biography? The natural means noticed in the

narratives of Mark do not bring our Lord's miracles within the compass of natural causes, but their omission in the other two Gospels manifests a desire to render the effect of his wonderful works more striking. And as the tendency of narratives—especially when they relate to events of an extraordinary kind—is to increase the wonder,* we may fairly argue that the Gospel which acknowledges, and brings prominently into view, the use of natural means, exhibits an earlier form of the tradition than that in which they have disappeared, or are very slightly indicated.

I see nothing in the Gospel of Mark which betokens the influence of subsequent events on the mind of the historian and on his narrative. I have already pointed out some such instances in Matthew and Luke. The history of the Last Supper, when the accounts of the evangelists are placed in juxtaposition, exhibits some remarkable phenomena. In Mark and in Matthew, the bread is simply declared to be our Lord's body; in Mark the wine is said to be his "blood of the new covenant, shed for many," in accordance with his declaration (Matt. xx. 28; Mark x. 45) that he came to lay down his life as a means of deliverance† for

* Τὸ θαυμαστὸν ἡδὺ· σημεῖον δέ· πάντες γὰρ προστιθέντες ἀπαγγέλλουσι ὡς χαριζόμενοι.—Aristot. Poet. § 43. In the present case the wonder is increased by subtraction, not by addition, but the principle is the same.

† That λύτρον is rightly explained as "means of deliverance," is evident from Luke xxiv. 21, where the disciples say they had hoped that our Lord was destined λυτροῦσθαι τὸν Ἰσραήλ. The Jews had no conception of a ransom in the

many. In Matthew an important addition is made—"for the remission of sins," where the Jewish idea of the shedding of blood, as the accompaniment of re-admission to religious privileges (Lev. iv., xii., &c.) after involuntary transgression of the law, is superinduced upon a very different one—a covenant ratified by blood. In Luke the change is still more remarkable. Neither Mark nor Matthew give any hint that the bread and wine were to be a perpetual memorial of our Lord's death. The impression which would be derived from their account is, that it was only the last celebration of the Passover that was to take place before the establishment of the kingdom of God. Luke so far agrees with Mark and Matthew; only while they represent him as saying that he should drink it new *with them* in the kingdom of heaven, in Luke he simply says, "I will not drink again of the fruit of the vine, till the kingdom of God come." But in Luke, to the distribution of both elements is added the injunction, "to do it in remembrance of him." We find no trace in the earliest part of the Book of Acts of any celebration of a memorial of our Lord's death; for the "breaking of bread from house to house," mentioned in the second chapter, seems only to have been a part of that system of community of goods which, for a short time, prevailed among the sense imputed to *λύτρον* in theological systems; and when our Lord spoke of his death as a *λύτρον*, there is no ground for supposing that he used it in any other sense than that of deliverance, though it was a different kind of deliverance from what his countrymen and disciples expected.

converts. Later in the book, and in the history of St. Paul, it appears as specially appropriated to the first day of the week (Acts xx. 7), but it is only in his own Epistle to the Corinthians that we find it designated as the Lord's Supper (κυριακὸν δεῖπνον) and become an ordinance in the Church, though still retaining the pascal character of a meal. And in this passage we find, probably, the first mention, in point of time, of a command by our Lord to make it a memorial of himself. The words in which it is expressed almost verbally coincide with those in the Gospel of Luke, the companion of Paul. How had St. Paul obtained a more exact knowledge of our Lord's words than the two first evangelists? He himself says, "I have received from the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed," &c., concluding with the words, "This do in remembrance of me." The history of St. Paul leaves us in ignorance of the means by which he obtained his knowledge of the events of our Lord's life. He can hardly have been among his followers. His declaration that he had not received his Gospel of men, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ, does not necessarily exclude his obtaining through human channels his knowledge of the facts of our Lord's life; for he uses the word *Gospel* to denote a system of truths, not as Mark does, the history of our Lord's preaching (Galat. i. 6; 1 Cor. xv. 1). Before he began to preach in the synagogues of Damascus, he was some time with the disciples there. Of his occupation or association

during the time which he spent in Arabia, we unfortunately know nothing. In 1 Cor. xv. 3 he uses the very same language (*κατάκατα ἡμῶν ἐς θάνατον ἡ καὶ ἀνάστασιν*) of the death, resurrection, and subsequent appearances of Christ, which he had probably learnt from the oral communication of witnesses.* The additional words in 1 Cor. xi. 23 (*κατὰ μαρίαν*) certainly exclude the idea of knowledge derived from any written source, and seem to point to a communication by Christ himself.

When we compare the Gospel of Mark with those of Matthew and Luke, we feel that had it come down to us alone, we should have had a very imperfect record of our Lord's teaching. Yet, as it must have been, to many Christians in the earliest times, the only written Gospel, we must suppose that it contains enough to embody Christian faith and duty—in modern phrase, "all things necessary for salvation." The qualification for an Apostle to fill the place left vacant by the death of Judas was, that he should have accompanied with the disciples all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among them, beginning from the baptism of John until he was taken up to heaven (Acts i. 21). This is the description of the history contained in Mark's original Gospel, with the exception of the last circumstance. It records the descent of the Spirit, the calling of the apostles, a multitude of miracles, the transfiguration, the prediction of his death and resurrection, his triumphal entry into Jeru-

* See Stanley on 1 Cor. xi. 23.



salem, his prophecy of its destruction, his trial, crucifixion, and resurrection. Peter's address in the house of Cornelius is a summary of Mark's Gospel. "That word ye know, which was published throughout all Judæa, and began from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached, how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit and with power, who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed by the devil; for God was with him. And we are witnesses of all things which he did, both in the land of the Jews and in Jerusalem; whom they slew and hanged on a tree: him God raised up the third day, and shewed him openly, not to all the people, but unto witnesses, chosen before by God" (Acts x. 36-41). His character and office also, as set forth by Peter on the day of Pentecost, correspond exactly with the Gospel of Mark. "Ye men of Israel, hear these words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, him ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain; whom God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death" (Acts ii. 22). Nothing is wanting in Mark's Gospel that is necessary to establish faith in Christ, as faith was understood in the apostolic age—faith in his divine mission.

The early composition, the proofs of which I have endeavoured to point out in this Gospel, enhances its value as a testimony to the facts on which the Christian religion is founded. The nearer we can come to

the time when these facts are said to have occurred, the greater is the probability of our receiving them unmixed with fable. There was nothing which could secure the Christian traditions from liability to distortion, exaggeration, and corruption; and with every desire of truthfulness, it might not be possible for an historian to eliminate all these ingredients from his narrative, after a considerable time had elapsed. If there be a difference in this respect between religious and secular history, it is that religious history is more liable to corruption than secular. Its element is the supernatural, to which the ordinary tests of credibility are inapplicable; unquestioning belief is deemed a merit, searching inquiry an affront, scepticism a crime. The only effectual control over the propensity to corrupt a simple tradition is to ascend as near as it is possible to its spring-head. We may not, after all, succeed in attaining historical truth, pure and simple, but we have thus the best chance of doing so.

The opinion which I have endeavoured to disprove, that Mark is an epitomizer, owes its origin to critics, and is unknown to primitive times.* The earliest tradition assigns to his Gospel an independent and authentic origin. Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. iii. 39), speaking of Papias, who lived during the early part of the second

* Augustine, de Consensu Evang. (I. § 4), says of Mark, "Matthæi pedissequus et breviator *esse videtur*." Yet throughout he treats him as an independent authority, so that probably he only meant to say that his Gospel *looked like* an abridgement.

century, says that Papias (whose writings have not come down to us)* received information from John the Presbyter "that Mark, being the interpreter of Peter, carefully wrote down all that he retained in his memory of the actions and discourses of Christ; not, however, in order, for he was not himself a hearer or follower of the Lord, but afterwards, as I said, a companion of Peter, who taught in the manner best suited to the instruction of his hearers, without making a connected narrative of his discourses concerning the Lord. Such being the case, Mark committed no errors in thus writing some things from memory; for he made it his sole object not to omit anything which he had heard, and not to state anything falsely." Papias tells us that whenever he himself met with any who had been conversant with men of the last generation (*τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*) he carefully inquired what they had said; what Andrew, what Peter had said, what Philip, or Thomas, or James, or John, or Matthew, or any other disciple of the Lord had said.† These anecdotes he probably incorporated in the work whence the quota-

* The title of his work, or, rather, collection of treatises, was *Δογίων Κυριακῶν Ἑξηγήσεις*. As *Δόγμα* is used in the New Testament (Rom. iii. 7) to describe the writings of the Old, it is probable that the work of Papias was an exposition of the Gospels, which had the same relation to the Christian Church, as the Law and the Prophets to the Jewish nation. He calls Matthew's Gospel his *λόγια*.

† Eusebius gives the same account of the relation between Peter and Mark (*Demonstr. Evang.* lib. 3, p. 122, ed. 1628), adding various circumstances, indicating that Mark's narrative was derived from Peter's lips.

tion is made. His testimony has been called in question because he believed in a millennium and in miraculous cures; but in both these points he was probably not more credulous than his contemporaries, and, at all events, the value of his testimony, as to what he had heard from those who had known the Apostles, does not depend upon the soundness of his judgment. He gives clear and weighty evidence to the belief of the primitive Church, that the Gospel of Mark was immediately derived from the lips of the apostle Peter.* There is nothing in the Gospel itself to discountenance, much to confirm, the tradition. He relates events, indeed, in order; but though he must have taken down the apostle's narratives, as occasion called them forth, from time to time, he has evidently arranged them in order when he published them as a Gospel. Papias calls him the interpreter (*ἑρμηνεύτης*) of Peter, which is sometimes rendered by modern writers *amanuensis*, but there is no reason for taking it in any but its ordinary sense. He used the same word in speaking of the Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel, which, he says, "every one interpreted (*ἑρμεί-*

* Irenæus (Adv. Hær. iii. 1), Origen (Euseb. H. E. vi. 25), Jerome (Catal. Vir. Ill. Marcus), all agree in representing Mark's Gospel as derived from the preaching of Peter, the two latter adding that Peter approved the work. Irenæus says it was not written till after Peter's death, which is not unlikely, if understood of his reducing into order the memoranda of Peter's preaching, and publishing them as a Gospel. The year of Peter's martyrdom is uncertain; it was probably 64 or 65 A.D. in Nero's persecution.

νευσε) as he could," and of Clemens translating the Epistle to the Hebrews into Greek. The apostle may not have possessed sufficient literary culture to write in Greek, though we cannot doubt that he was able to carry on conversation with Gentiles in that language. Mark may also have been his interpreter to those who spoke only Latin, and neither Greek nor Hebrew. When Peter sent forth his first, and probably his only genuine, Epistle, Mark was with him in Rome (v. 11) and may have performed the same service for him in its composition, as in giving a Greek dress to his recollections of our Lord's ministry.

Of the three synoptical Gospels, Mark's alone, as it was left by him, is perfectly homogeneous. The two first chapters of Luke are manifestly a document prefixed by him to his own history—so different is the style from his, and so marked by traces of a Hebrew origin. Schleiermacher, in a work which at its appearance excited considerable attention,* even went so far, as to analyze the whole of Luke's Gospel into the separate pieces which he supposed the evangelist had put together. In Matthew, again, the sermon on the mount has much the aspect of a collection of our Lord's discourses, delivered at various times, but thrown into the form of a continuous discourse, and inserted into the narrative; and other passages have been pointed out, in the course of this essay, which

* A Critical Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke, by Frederick Schleiermacher, with an Introduction by the Translator [Connop Thirlwall]. 1825.

have a very insititious character. As a conglomerate implies the previous existence of strata, whence its materials have been derived ; so the composite nature of the first and third Gospel indicates a later origin than that of the second, whose structure is simple and uniform. I think, as the result of our investigations, we are entitled to place the date of this, the earliest extant record of our Lord's life and teaching, not much later than thirty years after his crucifixion. We reach a still earlier period, if we go back to the time when Mark, as the companion of Peter, heard him deliver to the converts those narratives which form the materials of his Gospel.

ESSAY II.

THE TRUE NATURE OF THE GIFT OF TONGUES.

THIS subject has excited little attention in our own country, though it has employed the pens of many of the ablest of the German theologians. The names of Semler, Michaëlis, Eichhorn, and Paulus, among the elder critics ; of Neander, Bleek, Olshausen, Tholuck, Baur, Hilgenfeld in more recent times, are a sufficient proof that learning and ingenuity have not been wanting in the investigation, while the continued appearance of new treatises shows, that no satisfactory conclusion has been attained. Even in England, though we generally pass over the subject as mysterious and difficult, or acquiesce in some traditional explanation, it is evident that thoughtful and earnest inquirers are at a loss,* when they endeavour to

* See Rev. J. H. Thom's Commentary, and Canon Stanley on the Epistles of St. Paul, i. 290-311.

harmonize the different accounts of Scripture, or to form a conception of what the gift of tongues really was.

The popular notion of this gift is, that on the day of Pentecost, by a miraculous influence, of which the fiery tongues were a symbol, the apostles and first disciples were endowed with a power of speaking languages which they had never learnt; that they forthwith exercised this power to the conviction of foreigners from various parts of the world assembled in Jerusalem; that this phenomenon was repeated in subsequent cases of the descent of the Holy Spirit; and that the gift was by some persons permanently possessed, certainly by the members of the Church of Corinth, if not in every similar community, St. Paul himself being endowed with it in a pre-eminent degree. The purpose for which such a power was supernaturally granted, is supposed to have been either specially, to enable the missionaries of the Gospel to address the natives of various countries in their own tongue, and so to facilitate conversions; or generally, like all the other miraculous powers, to prove that the new religion was divine.

This is plausible enough when we do not descend to particulars, and confront the theory with the historical facts. When we do so, difficulties start up on every side. If the gift of speaking languages, without the process of learning them, were bestowed on the first Christians to aid them in converting the heathens, how has it happened, that neither Scripture nor ecclesiastical

history has recorded a single instance of its being so employed? The field of the apostles' labours was limited to nations to whom they could make themselves intelligible by Greek, Hebrew, or Aramæan. They did not preach to Phrygians, or Lycaonians, or Copts; to Thracians, or Celts, or Iberians. When they were rejected by their countrymen, and turned to the Gentiles, it was not to rude native populations, speaking only their own barbarous language, that they addressed themselves, but to those who had already received a tincture of Greek civilization. The legends of their founding churches in Armenia or India have no historical authority. The Epistles of all the apostles, not excepting that to the Romans, are written in Greek. The works of the earliest fathers are in the same language, and contain no evidence that they or any other Christians were endowed with the gift of tongues. Indeed, it has been urged as a proof of the wisdom with which the age of the promulgation of the Gospel was chosen, that the Christian missionary could make himself understood throughout the civilized world, in consequence of the wide diffusion of the Greek language, produced by the conquests of Alexander.*

There was a time, indeed, in which this gift would

* See Principal Robertson's Sermon before the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, 1755. Neander (Ch. Hist. Eng. Tr. i. 109), reckons it as one of the obstacles to the conversion of the rural populations, that the Apostles were ignorant of their dialects.

have been invaluable to the Christian missionary—when barbarians, who knew no language save their own, were to be converted; but neither Augustine, nor Boniface, nor Paulinus enjoyed such an aid. Irenæus, in the middle of the second century, speaking of the spiritual gifts enjoyed by the true Church of Christ (Adv. Hæres. v. 6), says, “We hear many brethren in the Church having prophetic gifts, and by the Spirit speaking in all manner of languages, and bringing to manifestation the hidden things of men for edification, and relating the mysteries of God.” Elsewhere (ii. 57), he speaks of the power of casting out dæmons, of healing diseases, of raising the dead, as still possessed by the Church. Leaving untouched the question, how far any of these, supposing them to be facts, necessarily imply a *miraculous power*, we may observe, in regard to the power of speaking various languages, that unless Irenæus had ascertained that the speakers had never learnt them in the ordinary way, their use of them was no proof of any supernatural gift. Such an exercise of the critical faculty, on such a subject, was, however, very foreign to the spirit of that age; Irenæus would probably have regarded the doubt which suggested inquiry, as an impiety. It is evident that Irenæus himself did not possess the gift; since, in the proem to his work against heresies,* he

* Οὐκ ἐπιζητήσεις παρ' ἡμῶν, τῶν ἐν Κελτοῖς διατριβόντων (he was Bishop of Lyons) καὶ περὶ βάρβαρον διάλεκτον τὸ πλεῖστον ἀσχολουμένων, λόγων τέχνην.—P. 8. (Ed. Grabe.)

excuses himself for the want of polish in his style by saying, that "living among the Celts, their barbarous language gave him a great deal of trouble." He could not dispense with its use in the exercise of his episcopal functions, but he evidently had to acquire it by hard study, such as an Englishman must go through at the present day, who, being placed in a Welsh bishopric, thinks it his duty to teach and preach in that language.

If not employed as an instrument for the conversion of the heathens, however, it may be said that it was effective as a *sign*, convincing them that the power of God was with the preachers of the Gospel. Those who were insensible to the power and beauty of truth might be struck by the miracle of an unlearned person speaking, as Chrysostom says, "not only in his own tongue, but in that of the Persians, Indians, or Scythians"—"a sensible sign of invisible grace." In support of this opinion it is customary to cite the words of the Apostle Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 22. "Tongues are for a sign, not to them that believe, but to them that believe not." If, however, we examine the passage of Scripture to which he refers in proof of this, or the course of his argument, we shall find that he is rather depreciating the gift of tongues, as *not* fitted to produce conviction in unbelievers. In Isaiah xxviii. 11, Jehovah threatens his people, that He would speak to them "by men of stammering lips and other tongues"—foreigners, who should harshly enforce the lesson which they had refused to learn from the lips of prophets,

speaking their own tongue; "and yet, for all that, they will not hear me, saith the Lord." The force of the quotation lies in this last circumstance, not in the efficacy of a foreign language to convince, but its inefficacy when other means have failed. It is evident too, that in order to prove a special inspiration on the part of one who spoke a foreign language, it must in each case be known that the speaker had not acquired it as Irenæus did. Those who were present on the day of Pentecost had presumptive grounds for their conclusion. "Are not all these who speak Galileans; and how hear we every man in our own tongue in which we were born?" The presumption was strong, that no natural cause could account for the phenomenon, for Galilee was a region of little culture. But what similar evidence could have been afforded, in the case of a gift diffused throughout the whole Church? Before any argument in proof of the possession of the Holy Spirit by one speaking in a foreign tongue could be reasonably drawn, the previous history and education of the speaker must have been known or ascertained by inquiry. Is it credible that such a test should have been applied? The desire of the Apostle Paul (1 Cor. xii., xiv.) to keep under as much as possible the exercise of the gift of tongues, and his assignment to it of the lowest place save one, is in singular contrast with the opinion, that it was one of the most striking of the evidences of inspiration.

But the difficulty of discovering a purpose for the bestowment of such a supernatural gift, or of apply-

ing a test of its being really supernatural, is far from being the only one which attaches to the common opinion. The manner of its exercise, as described in the chapters of the Epistle to the Corinthians already referred to, is most repugnant to any rational notion of a divine inspiration. I quote the words of Michaëlis in his Commentary on this passage, as given by his learned translator, Bishop Marsh:—"Still more extraordinary is the ridiculous disorder which prevailed in the Church of Corinth in the use of the gift of tongues; and it is wholly inconceivable how this could have happened, if all those who were able to speak foreign languages had received their knowledge from the immediate interposition of the Holy Ghost: for they used their talents in the most irrational manner, and merely through ostentation, without the least benefit either to themselves or their hearers. They not only spoke in languages which none of the community understood, but frequently when no interpreter was present to explain their meaning; and this was the case, not with one, or two, or three persons only, but a very great number of speakers in foreign languages, under the pretence of edification, though really with a view of exciting astonishment, harangued in this assembly; and as it appears that several spoke at the same instant, the unavoidable consequence was a general confusion. Can we suppose, then, that persons like these were under the influence of the Holy Spirit?" The question is inevitable, but the author furnishes no satis-

factory answer to the negative conclusion to which his statements tend. He thinks that there were certainly some who possessed the gift, but gives no criterion by which to distinguish the miraculously-inspired person from the pretender to inspiration. The translator notices the confused and unsatisfactory state in which Michaëlis has left the question, but gives no help to a better solution.* Nor, in my opinion, has any such solution yet been suggested. We shall be most likely to arrive at a clear conception of the matter, by following in order all the notices of this gift contained in the New Testament.

In the concluding part of the Gospel of Mark, as it stands in our common edition, our Lord is represented as saying (xvi. 17), "These signs shall follow them that believe: in my name shall they cast out dæmons; they shall speak with new tongues" (γλώσσαις λαλήσουσι καιναῖς). It is, however, very doubtful whether this whole passage, from verse 9 to the end, is a genuine part of Mark's Gospel. It is wanting in two of our oldest MSS., the Vatican and the Codex Sinaiticus. In several MSS. which contain it, it is noted that it was wanting in many, and those the most accurate copies. In the fourth century, to which probably both the MSS. mentioned before belong, we

* Marsh's Michaëlis, Vol. I. ch. ii. § 1, notes p. 350. "Our author produces three opinions, one of which must necessarily be adopted; but he rejects the last as improbable, without pointing out the improbability, and at the same time produces arguments to show the improbability of the two first."

know that this was the case. Hedibia, one of the numerous female correspondents of St. Jerome, had propounded to him twelve scriptural questions, the third being, how the accounts of the resurrection in Matthew and in Mark are to be reconciled; Matthew saying, "*Vespere autem sabbati, illucescente in una sabbati Dominum surrexisse, et Marcus Mane resurrectionem ejus factam esse, ita scribens, 'Cum autem resurrexisset una sabbati mane apparuit Mariæ Magdalenaë,'*" Mark xvi. 9. "Of this question," says St. Jerome, in reply, "there are two solutions. Either we do not receive the testimony of Mark, which is found in few copies of the Gospels (*raris evangeliiis*) almost all the Greek MSS. not having this section (*capitulum*) at the end—especially as it seems to be different and contrary to the other evangelists; or we may answer, that both are right, Matthew in saying that he rose '*vespere sabbati*;' Mark that after he had risen, he appeared '*mane prima sabbati*,' to Mary Magdalene." * Gregory of Nyssa, also of the fourth century, says that this section was wanting in the more accurate copies.† To these strong external evidences of non-authenticity may be added the marked difference of style, which precludes the supposition of their having been subsequently added by

* Hieron. Op. ed. Victorius, III. p. 226.

† Orat. de Resurr. Vol. II. p. 411, ed. 1638. Ἐν τοῖς ἀκριβεστέροις ἀντιγράφοις τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγέλιον μέχρι τῶν ἐφ' ὁβόωντο γὰρ ἔχει τὸ τέλος. Augustine, De Consensu Evang., discusses the same objection as Jerome, but does not notice the variation of copies.

the evangelist. It must therefore remain altogether doubtful whether these words were really spoken by our Lord. If they were uttered by him, previously to the day of Pentecost, I should be inclined to interpret them as meaning no more than that, by the change which the Holy Spirit would produce, a new energy and power would be given to the tongue, which would seem as if the organ itself had been created anew. The combination "new tongues" (γλώσσαις καιναῖς) is not found elsewhere, but other uses of the word *new* will readily occur to the reader's mind, justifying this interpretation. Thus, God is said to put a new spirit within his people; to take away the stony heart and give them a heart of flesh; and the prophet Ezekiel (xxxvi. 26; xviii. 31) exhorts the Jews to make to themselves a new heart and a new spirit. That the Christian is a new man, a new creature, is the language of St. Paul's Epistles (2 Cor. v. 17; Galat. iv. 15; Ephes. ii. 15). Taking these analogous expressions for our guide, we may conclude the promise to believers, that they should speak with new tongues, to be virtually the same as that in Luke (xxi. 15), "I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay or resist." Not that the "new tongues" were to be employed merely in self-defence. The promise included every accession of unwonted power, feeling, energy, and persuasiveness, by which the speech of the converted was distinguished from that of the unconverted man.

There is nothing in the predictions of the gift of the Holy Spirit, that has any reference to a miraculous endowment with the power of speaking languages which had never been learnt. When the Baptist predicts that he, whose forerunner he was, should baptize with the Holy Spirit and with fire, he describes the ardour with which it should inspire those on whom it should descend, alluding, perhaps, also to the purifying effect of fire, as in the vision of Isaiah, when his lips were purified by a coal from the altar.* Streams of living water (perennial streams of religious truth) were to flow from the believer, in consequence of the reception of the Holy Spirit (John vii. 38). It was to be the apostles' advocate, pleading on behalf of the truth through their lips, and bringing their master's teaching to their remembrance (John xiv. 16, 26; xv. 26; xvi. 7). The purpose of the descent of the Spirit, as announced by our Lord (Acts i. 8), was "that they might be witnesses to him," agreeably to his own promise, that when brought before rulers and kings for a testimony to them, the Holy Spirit should prompt their utterance (Matt. x. 18). It was with this spirit that Peter was filled (Acts iv. 8) when he spoke before the Jewish council. The discourse of our Lord with Nicodemus treats the gift of the Spirit

* *Apostoli, antequam acciperent spiritum sanctum, habebant in lingua sua adhuc aliquos tumores humanos; propterea spiritus sanctus descendit in specie ignis in linguas eorum, ut quidquid puris (of *pus*) habebant spiritus sanctus decoqueret.*—Hieron. in Ps. cxix.

wholly as an internal change of principle and feeling. In fact, according to the Gospel of John (xx. 22), Jesus had communicated the Holy Spirit to his apostles before his ascension and the day of Pentecost, which the Book of Acts (i. 5) regards as the epoch of its communication. The prophecy of Joel (ii. 28) which Peter quotes (Acts ii. 17, 18), "I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my spirit," contains no allusion to a gift of foreign tongues, but expresses the universality of that religious feeling and power, which had hitherto been the exclusive character of the order of prophets.

In the narrative of the descent of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii.) there is, at first sight, evidence that those who received it were endowed with the power of speaking languages which they had never learnt. But a closer investigation of the whole passage leaves the fact very doubtful. The evidence that foreign languages were really spoken is contained wholly in the parenthetical part (vv. 6-11) which relates the conflux of the foreigners, and their remarks on what they heard. Now the speech which is attributed to them is clearly a *framed* speech, which can never have been literally spoken by those into whose mouths it is put. It represents these dwellers at Jerusalem from every nation under heaven, east and west,* as collectively describing the countries from

* One is tempted to suspect that the enumeration "Par-

which they came, and collectively delivering a judgment on the phenomenon which they witnessed. Under this fictitious form, however, there is probably the substantial fact, that those who heard the sounds proceeding from persons in that excited state which is called being in the Spirit, thought they heard words of the barbarous languages which had been familiar to them in former years. But the circumstances under which one of them thought he recognized one language, and another another, were not such that we can safely trust to their impressions, as a proof that a power of speaking them had been suddenly and miraculously bestowed. The disciples had been anxiously waiting for the promised descent of the Spirit, and in the flames of fire distributing themselves (*διαμεριζόμεναι*) upon them, and in the sound as of a rushing mighty wind* they saw the accomplishment of the promise, and immediately began to speak *in other tongues* (*ἑτέραις γλώσσαις*), as the Spirit prompted them. The expression is ambiguous, and might be rendered *with altered tongues*, but as the writer appears to have

thians, Medes, and Elamites," &c., may be a rhetorical amplification, like that of the orator mentioned by Livy (xxxv. 48) who "nominibus quoque gentium vix fando auditis terrebat; Dahas, Medos, Elymæosque et Caddusios appellans."

* Both in Hebrew and in Greek the same word denotes wind and spirit. Isaiah v. 24, *לשון אש* "tongue of fire" is used for flame. These double meanings no doubt contributed to the interpretation given to the phenomenon by the beholders.

adopted the opinion expressed by the foreigners, that the sounds heard were those of foreign languages, this was probably his meaning. Throughout all this part of his history, Luke does not speak as an eye-witness, but represents the tradition of the Christian community at an interval of more than thirty years. The words may, therefore, fairly be rendered "foreign languages." The fact, however, seems to have been, that the sudden access of religious conviction and enthusiasm, on the part of the disciples, was accompanied by a vehement excitement, for a time altering the speech, and rendering it unintelligible. This accounts for the scoffing comment of a part of the audience: "These men are full of new wine;" for the most illiterate persons would never conclude that a speaker was intoxicated, merely because he spoke in a language which they did not understand. But the labouring and inarticulate utterance, which we know that an overmastering religious feeling, increased by sympathy, produces, would be most naturally interpreted, by the unsympathizing spectator, as the effect of intoxication.* It may be repulsive to our refinement to conceive that Christian disciples in the apostolic age should be so overpowered by the internal workings of religious feeling, as temporarily to lose the command of themselves and become inarticulate. But human nature is the

* Compare 1 Sam. i. 13, where Hannah, moving her lips in earnest inarticulate prayer, "her voice not being heard," i. e. her words not being distinguishable, is charged by Eli with drunkenness.

same everywhere and in all ages, and we have only to look into the history of *revivals* and *conversions* to know that such a state is the natural accompaniment of enthusiastic feeling, especially when it involves a strong revulsion from a previous state—a deep conviction of error or sin. And there was nothing in the mental state of the disciples to exempt them from such an influence. On the contrary, their conceptions of divine inspiration and the mode of its manifestation* would predispose them to it. That the apostles themselves partook of it does not necessarily follow from the general expressions in v. 4; for Peter, standing up with the eleven, says, “*These men*” (*i. e.* those who were at that moment under the influence of the Spirit) “are not drunk, as ye suppose”—clearly distinguishing himself and his fellows from the general assemblage. It has been already noticed that in his address, Peter makes no allusion to any gift of tongues, but speaks of the phenomenon only as a fulfilment of the promise of an *indiscriminate* outpouring of the

* Canon Stanley says, “The wide difference between the character, intellectual, moral, and spiritual, of the early Christian Church, and that of the sects in which such later manifestations have appeared, places a deep gulf between the Apostolic gift of tongues and these doubtful copies.”—Vol. I. p. 302. I do not consider them as *copies*, but as similar effects from similar causes. Nor do I perceive any such gulf as he describes: on the contrary, I believe some of the religious bodies in which these manifestations have taken place, will bear a very favourable comparison, in their intellectual, moral, and spiritual character, with the Church of Corinth as described by St. Paul. 1 Cor. iii. 3, vi. 18, xi. 21; 2 Cor. xii. 21.

Spirit, which was to take place in the latter days. The gift of this Spirit was to be obtained, by those who were not already disciples, by repentance and baptism in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins. It will hardly be supposed that the three thousand who forthwith were baptized received, in fulfilment of the apostle's promise, the gift of speaking foreign languages. The gift of the Holy Spirit, which Simon desired the power of bestowing, was that of casting out dæmons and healing diseases.

The experience of other instances of strong religious excitement, especially in some of its very recent manifestations, will explain to us not only the inarticulate speech of those who were under its influence, but the belief of bystanders that they heard in these sounds the words of a foreign language. "I uttered," says a follower of Mr. Irving, who had believed himself possessed of the gift of tongues, "sentences in many other languages (beside Latin and French). My wife, who was with me, declared some of them to be Italian and Spanish: the first she can read and translate; the second she knows but little of." This illustrates the facility with which bystanders adopt hypotheses respecting the languages to which the broken utterances of persons under religious excitement may be referred.* Instances of similar gratuitous explanations of words uttered by persons in

* "The expressions, 'Every man heard them in his own language,' &c., can hardly be explained on any other supposition than that, *at least to the hearers*, the sounds *seemed to*

the state of *clairvoyance* will be found in the reports of such cases. The foreigners are represented as saying that they heard the speakers declaring the wonderful works of God. But this by no means proves that they were really speaking an intelligible foreign language, since their whole attitude and manner would sufficiently indicate that their ecstasy was of a religious kind, and that they were engaged in prayer and praise.

Ultimately, then, our belief that a miraculous gift of the power of speaking foreign languages was communicated on the day of Pentecost, must rest on the soundness of the conclusion formed by the strangers who came together on that day. It has been well observed, that "in the establishment of facts of a most extraordinary character, and such as cannot be verified at all times and by all persons, in addition to honesty of purpose in the observer, we must have evidence of a sound, discriminating judgment—of a mind not prone to delight in the marvellous."* Can we fairly presume the existence of these qualifications for judgment on the part of the persons in question? A most extraordinary phenomenon had occurred in the descent of the flames of fire, and the wind from heaven; the disciples, thrown into a state of ecstasy, had been giving vent to their feelings in sounds so

be those of distinct languages and real dialects."—Stanley on Corinthians I. p. 299, who quotes Mr. Baxter's account of his own utterances.

* Address on Mesmerism, by J. B. Estlin, F.L.S.

inarticulate that the audience thought them to be intoxicated. The news spreads throughout the city, in which were dwelling devout men from various parts of the world. They proceed, with others, to the scene of this marvellous manifestation, and they think they recognize in the sounds which issue from the lips of those who are in the ecstatic state words of their native languages.* Let us consider what conditions are necessary, in order to warrant us in adopting the conclusion which they drew — that these languages were really being spoken. The very first, without which the whole process of identification wants a basis, is, that the utterance should be distinct, so that there should be no confusion of one vocal sound with another. This condition appears to have been entirely wanting. Next, each individual's utterance should be watched and noted by an individual auditor, or at least separately by those who spoke a particular dialect; which, as fourteen or fifteen different utterances were going on at once, would be evidently impossible. Thirdly, repeated and sifting inquiries would be necessary, in order to ascertain that the resemblances which struck the ear were not merely such as may be found in words in different languages, having no identity of meaning. Again: if the words were really the same, both in sound and sense, it would be necessary to

* Not, perhaps, very recently heard by them. The expression *κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ* may apply either to residents or temporary visitors, but most probably describes the former class.

ascertain that this was not owing merely to the affinity which connects various languages commonly reckoned as distinct. Further, before we can feel certain that a language has really been spoken, there must be not only coincidence of words, but of grammatical structure, and coherent sense. Is it possible to suppose, that in the confusion of such an assemblage as the phenomenon of Pentecost brought together, these conditions could be in any measure fulfilled? The knowledge of an Adelung and the sagacity of a Max Müller would have been baffled.

I have hitherto supposed that the foreigners on whose testimony we have to build were disposed and qualified to judge calmly of what they saw and heard. But if we consider the excited state of the Jewish mind generally at this period, just after the ministry of our Lord, his miracles and his resurrection, had impressed so many with the belief that the long-promised advent of the Messiah had taken place, and that some wonderful manifestation of divine power was momentarily to be looked for, we shall be convinced that these devout persons came together prepared for belief, rather than for minute and anxious scrutiny of evidence. It is true, this special manifestation was not looked for; and therefore it cannot be said, as has been said in other instances, that the history has been invented to fulfil a prediction or an expectation. But with minds already disposed to see something marvellous, the descent of the fiery tongues might naturally suggest the special nature of the

miracle, and dispose the spectators to imagine, that in the inarticulate sounds proceeding from the entranced multitude, they heard languages with which they were familiar. How much transmission may have added to the original fact it is impossible to say. The amount of correspondence, the number of languages heard, have very probably been magnified; and, as I have before observed, a speech has been put into the mouths of the foreigners, expressing what the historian supposed them to have said, rather than their actual words. We know not how far this liberty may have been extended.

But no doubt it was the belief of the Christian community, that such a manifestation did accompany the descent of the Spirit. We find two subsequent instances of "speaking with tongues" mentioned in the Book of Acts (x. 44-46; xi. 16; xix. 6) in connection with conversion or embracing Christianity. In the former of these instances, though the historian mentions speaking with tongues, it is worthy of remark that Peter, while he justifies himself for admitting Gentiles into the Church by saying, that "God had given them the Holy Spirit as he did unto us, and put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith," makes no allusion to a gift of tongues. That conversion was accompanied, in other instances, as well as on the day of Pentecost, with a state of excitement, in which indistinct utterances took place, and that these were supposed to represent some unknown language, or lan-

guages, of men or of angels, is quite credible. It is important, however, to observe, in reference to a subsequent part of our inquiry, that *λαλεῖν γλώσσαις* is not to be understood as descriptive of this inarticulate utterance itself, but of the language supposed to be uttered. *Γλώσση* or *γλώσσαις λαλεῖν* is only an abbreviated formula for *ἐτέραις* or *καιναῖς γλώσσαις*. *Γλῶσσα* is also used for uncommon, as well as foreign, words—archaic, poetical, provincial—any word, in short, which needed an explanation for the unlearned reader, hence called *γλῶσσημα*, or even *γλῶσσα*. But this sense is wholly inapplicable to the accounts of the descent of the Holy Spirit, and unsuitable to the character and intellectual state of the persons to whom the “speaking with tongues” is attributed.*

We next meet with the mention of this gift in the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians (xii. and xiv.). It will tend to a clear understanding of the subject to exhibit the whole passage.

“There are diversities of gifts, but the same spirit; and there are differences of offices, and the same master;† and diversities of operations, but the same God who worketh all things in all. But to each is given the manifestation of the spirit, to be beneficial.

* That this was the sense of *γλώσσαις λαλεῖν* was the hypothesis of Bleek.—See Hilgenfeld, *Die Glossolalie*, p. 28.

† ‘Ο κύριος is not here, I think, God or Christ; but the apostle is comparing the diversity of gifts in the church to the variety of offices in a household under one master.

For to one man is given by the spirit the word of wisdom ; to another the word of knowledge, according to the same spirit ; to another faith, in the same spirit ; to another gifts of healing, in one and the same spirit ; to another the working of *miraculous* powers ; to another prophecy ; to another discerning of spirits ; to another kinds of tongues ; to another interpretation of tongues ; but all these one and the same spirit worketh, distributing to each as it will." He then illustrates this co-operation of different gifts by the various members of the body, each having its appropriate use, but no one able to dispense with the services of the rest ; and proceeds, " And ye are the body of Christ, and members severally. And some God hath placed in the church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then *miraculous* powers, then gifts of healing, aids, governments, *various* kinds of tongues. All are not apostles, are they ? All are not prophets ? All are not teachers ? All have not *miraculous* powers ? All have not gifts of healing ? All do not speak with tongues ? All do not interpret ?" After setting forth, in the thirteenth chapter, the superiority of love to prophecy, or tongues, or knowledge, and even to faith and hope, the apostle returns, in the fourteenth, to the subject of spiritual gifts. " Follow after love, yet earnestly desire spiritual gifts, but more that ye may prophesy. For he that speaketh in a *foreign* tongue speaketh not unto men but unto God ; for no man understandeth him, but mentally he speaketh

mysteries; * but he that prophesieth speaketh to men edification, and exhortation, and comfort. He that speaketh in a *foreign* tongue edifieth himself; but he that prophesieth edifieth the church. I wish you all to speak in *foreign* tongues, but rather that you should prophesy; for he that prophesieth is greater than he who speaketh in *foreign* tongues, unless he interpret, that the church may receive edification. Now, brethren, if I come to you speaking in *foreign* tongues, what shall I profit you, unless I speak to you in *the way of* revelation, or of knowledge, or of prophecy, or of teaching? In the same way, † when things without life give out a note, whether pipe or harp, if they produce no distinction in their sounds, how shall that which is piped or harped be known? For if the trumpet give an obscure sound, who will prepare himself for battle? So you, if by the tongue you give not an intelligible discourse, how shall what ye speak be known? (There are I know not how many kinds of speech in the world, and none of them is without vocal sound.) If, therefore, I do not know the meaning of the language, I shall be a barbarian to him who speaks, and he who speaks will be a barbarian to me. So do you, when you are ambitious of spiritual things, seek to abound to the edification of the church. Wherefore, let him who speaketh in a *foreign* tongue

* Here the case is evidently supposed of a man speaking in a language which no man in the assembly but himself understood, and which there was no one at hand to interpret.

† The sense requires *ὁμῶς* = *ὁμοίως*, instead of *ὁμῶς*.

pray that he may interpret. For if I pray in a *foreign* tongue, my spirit indeed prayeth, but my mind is unfruitful. What is it, then? I will pray with my spirit, I will pray with my mind also; I will sing with my spirit; I will sing with my mind also. Since, if thou pray with the spirit *only*, how shall he who filleth the place of the unlearned say Amen to thy giving of thanks, since he knoweth not what thou art saying? For thou, indeed, givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. I give thanks to God, that I speak in *foreign* tongues more than you all; but in church I would rather speak five words with my mind, that I may instruct others also, than ten thousand words in a *foreign* tongue. Brethren, be not children in your minds; but be as infants in malice, but in your minds be perfect men. It is written in the Law, 'I will speak to this people by men of a strange tongue, and by strange lips, and not even thus will they listen to me, saith the Lord;' so that *foreign* tongues serve as a sign, not to those who believe, but to the unbelieving. If, therefore, the whole church should come together to the same place, and all should be speaking in *foreign* tongues, and unlearned persons or unbelievers should come in, will they not say that you are mad? But if all should be prophesying, and an unlearned person or an unbeliever should come in, he is convinced by all, he is judged by all, the secrets of his heart are brought to light; and thus, falling on his face, he will worship God, declaring that God is really among you. What is it, then, brethren? When

ye come together each of you hath a psalm, a teaching, a *foreign* tongue, a revelation, an interpretation. Let all things be done for edification. If any one speak in a *foreign* tongue, let it be by two, or at most three, and in turn, and let one interpret. But if there be no interpreter, let him be silent in the church, and speak to himself and God." After some directions respecting the silence of women in the church, he concludes, "So brethren, endeavour earnestly to prophesy, and do not prohibit speaking in *foreign* tongues."

Throughout this passage I have translated γλῶσσαι by *foreign* tongues, instead of the *unknown* tongues of our received version. Some supplement is necessary to make it intelligible; and, as in the Book of Acts, foreign tongues are clearly meant, till cause is shown to the contrary we may assume them to be meant here. It is in this sense that I find the word always understood by the early Christian writers. According to the commonly-received notion, the gift of speaking foreign languages was supernaturally bestowed on Christians in the apostolic age, and was possessed by some members of the Church of Corinth. I have before quoted a passage from Michaëlis, forcibly but not too strongly, describing the incongruities involved in such a supposition. The ordinary course of Divine Providence is supposed to have been departed from, in order to confer a power which the possessors exercised with so little judgment or discretion, as to expose, not themselves only, but the whole Church, to the imputa-

tion of madness; and the authority of an inspired apostle is necessary to keep within bounds the gift with which inspiration had endowed his converts. We could hardly blame those who reject the belief that there is anything supernatural in the history of Christianity, if this were one of its manifestations.

And yet the apostle's language is inexplicable, except on the supposition that various languages were spoken in the religious assemblages of the Corinthians.* A different meaning has indeed been given to the phrase λαλεῖν γλωσσαις in modern times, by which this conclusion is avoided. According to Eichhorn, whose view has been adopted with modification by Hilgenfeld,† and Canon Stanley, "speaking in a tongue, or with the tongue, or with tongues" did not mean speaking any particular language, but using an unconnected, broken, and hardly articulate utterance, under the influence of religious ecstasy. "To speak with the tongue," says Hilgenfeld, "is used in contrast to speaking with the understanding, and means to speak in an excited state, in which the words, if not absolutely inarticulate, or devoid of meaning, are yet so uttered as to convey no meaning to the hearer,

* Canon Stanley observes (I. p. 297) that the use of the word "tongue" need not necessarily imply the distinct language of a nation, and that the word ordinarily used in sacred and in classical Greek is *διάλεκτος*, as in Acts i. 19; ii. 6, 8, &c. But Acts ii. 5, compared with v. 8, shows the words to have been synonymous. The devout persons first say, *πῶς ἀκούομεν ἑκαστος τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ*, and afterwards *ταῖς ἡμετέραις γλώσσαις*.

† Die Glossolalie in der alten Kirche.

and, indeed, without the conscious co-operation of the understanding." This ecstatic state he considers, "like prophecy, to be the effect of inspiration, but the difference lies in this, that in prophesying the inspired person is in full possession of his reflective mental powers, whereas in the 'speaking with a tongue,' inspiration manifests itself through the medium of the intuitive side of the human mind, directed towards God, accompanied with a suppression of discursive thinking (*νοῦς*)."

Through the haze of this metaphysical language we discern, that the Corinthians are supposed, under the influence of the Spirit, to have uttered words which not only *conveyed* no meaning to the hearers, but into which they themselves *put* no meaning of which they were conscious. Is this a work worthy of inspiration? Is it for his own pre-eminence in such a gift that the apostle gives God thanks? Other objections are obvious. An interpreter pre-supposes a foreign language; what could be his function in regard to an inarticulate utterance? Or, if we take the word in a wider sense, what a cumbrous process, that one man should be inspired to speak what the assembly could not understand, and another to make it intelligible, or that the speaker should have to obtain by prayer the power to explain his own meaning! The apostle complains that the unlearned man could not say Amen to the blessing of one who spoke in the spirit; but if this meant speaking in an inarticulate way, the learned

man would be as much at a loss as the unlearned, and equally inclined to think the speaker mad.

But this interpretation is philologically untenable. It was unknown to the early Christian writers, who all understand *γλῶσσαι* of languages, and in a question of mere philology much weight is due to their judgment. An inarticulate speech would never have been described as "speaking with the tongue," seeing that the tongue is the special instrument of articulation, as opposed to the lips (comp. 1 Sam. i. 13, quoted before). The Greeks called a barbarian *ἄγλωστος*, because to them his speech was an inarticulate jargon.* "Language," says Aristotle, "is the articulation of voice by the tongue." St. Paul would not have described speaking in the spirit with the tongue, as opposed to speaking with the understanding, by the plural *γλώσσαις*; nor would he have spoken of *γέννη γλωσσῶν*, nor of the *γλῶσσαι* of men and angels,† nor quoted Isaiah in illustration of his argument, if he had not meant languages. This is

* Soph. Trach. 1062. Arist. Hist. Anim. iv. 9.

† That the Jews supposed angels to speak an articulate and intelligible language is evident, from the introductory chapters of Matthew and Luke. Probably they believed that they were able to speak all languages. They were, according to Philo (see Winer, Art. Engel.), "messengers of God to men and of men to God," an office which they could not discharge without such a power. The Jews divided the population of the world into seventy nations and seventy angels, one to each land and tongue. Winer, u.s.

the meaning which the word, whether singular or plural, must bear through the whole passage, except in xiv. 9, where *διὰ τῆς γλώσσης*, "by the tongue," is opposed, as a medium of communication, to the pipe, and harp, and trumpet, from which the apostle had drawn an illustration. The most plausible argument for Hilgenfeld's interpretation is, that in xiv. 7 the apostle speaks of the pipe or harp as giving a sound without *διαστολὴ τοῖς φθόγγοις*, "a distinction in their sounds," from which it might seem as if the practice which he disapproves was that of inarticulate speaking. The point of his illustration, however, is that what is unintelligible is practically useless—a speech in a foreign language, to one who knows it not, conveys no more information than a trumpet blown without a tune, by the sound of which no one can tell whether war or festivity is announced. Besides, a foreign language, to one who does not understand it, seems inarticulate; that is to say, he does not know where one word begins and another ends. Nennius calls the Britons (c. 27) "semi-articulati." The epithet *μέροπες* seems to have been meant to distinguish Greeks from barbarians, not men from brutes.* The passage on which Hilgenfeld grounds his explanation (xiv. 14) says nothing of the temporary suppression of

* See Arnold's Thucyd. viii. 41. The Russians, in the time of Peter the Great, called their western neighbours *Nemei* ("dumb men").—Strahlenberg, quoted by Ferguson, *Origin of Civil Society*, p. 342.

the discursive faculty in the apostle while praying in a tongue; on the contrary, the *νοῦς* is supposed to be in action, but to be *unfruitful*, because the meaning was not understood by others, who could not benefit by, or join in, his prayers. He resolves, therefore, that he will pray in spirit (fervently and sincerely), which a man may do, though in a language which others do not understand; but also with meaning *τῷ νοῖ*), which as regards others, and so as to make his mind fruitful,* could only be done in a known language.

It seems, then, that here, as elsewhere, *γλώσση* or *γλώσσαις λαλεῖν* can mean nothing else than speaking in a foreign language. I have supposed, that neither the speakers on the day of Pentecost, nor the others mentioned in the Acts, did really receive the power of doing so, but that the inarticulate sounds which they uttered were interpreted by the bystanders as foreign words. This explanation, however, will hardly suffice here. The instances mentioned in the Acts are of persons then and there suddenly converted, and we have no proof that the ecstatic state continued, or was renewed, when the first impression wore off. In the Church of Corinth this stage of conversion must, in the majority of cases, have been passed, and the apostle would not have condemned what was its sign and seal. Nor is it conceivable, on the other

* "J'aurai soin que mes prières et mes cantiques soient entendus des autres, afin qu'ils en soient édifiés."—Beausobre.

hand, that *he* should have supposed inarticulate utterances to be foreign languages, which admitted of a rendering into the common speech. We are, therefore, led to the conclusion, that in this case foreign languages were really spoken in the Church. At the same time, for reasons given before, we cannot suppose that a power so irrationally and capriciously exercised was really bestowed by special inspiration.

There remains, then, only the supposition that this power was one acquired in the ordinary way. The Church of Corinth contained among its members, it appears, several who spoke a foreign language. It is quite agreeable to experience, that when the religious impulse came upon them, which it is evident, from the apostle's exhortations, was sometimes so strong as to overbear considerations of propriety and sound judgment, they should break forth in prayers or pious ejaculations, to which the hearers could not respond, not understanding the language in which they spoke. On such he imposes silence and communion with their own spirits and with God, unless some one were present who could interpret their words. Others, again, whose gift was of a lower order, though not able to frame anything which could edify the community, could nevertheless serve as interpreters to those who could only speak in a foreign tongue. If any one spoke in a foreign tongue, he was not, according to the apostle's direction, to occupy the whole time of the assembly; two or three at most were to speak on

each occasion ; they were to do it in turn, and each was to have an interpreter.

Vitringa (Synagog. Vet. p. 1021) has pointed out, after Lightfoot and Alting, the resemblance between these directions of the apostle and the regulations of the synagogue. As Hebrew had ceased, since the return from captivity, to be the vernacular language, it had been necessary to appoint a *turgamen*, or interpreter, in each synagogue, who, when the Law or the Prophets was read, expounded each verse (in the Prophets every three verses) to the people. The reader was not allowed to interpret, and the interpreter was not to let his voice be heard above that of the reader. This resemblance is a further proof that the apostle is speaking of foreign languages, and not of an inarticulate utterance. Semler supposed that the persons to whom the gift of tongues is attributed were only the appointed interpreters of the Church of Corinth. But it seems evident that the speaking with tongues, like prophesying or teaching, was a spontaneous, not an official act.

Mention is made of spiritual gifts in epistles to other churches (Romans xii. 4-8 ; Ephes. iv. 7-12), but in these, though the enumeration is nearly the same, there is no mention of a gift of tongues or their interpretation.* Now, Corinth was, perhaps,

* Canon Stanley thinks that in Ephes. v. 19, "speaking to yourselves (*ἐαυτοῖς*) in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs," there is an allusion to that inward and inarticulate speaking

of all places in the ancient world, that in which a Christian community would be most likely to be found comprehending a variety of languages and an audience to be addressed in them. It was the earliest school of Greek nautical skill,* and continued, through all its political vicissitudes, the great emporium of Mediterranean commerce. By its double harbour it invited the traders of Asia, Africa, and Europe, and men of the most various nations must have dwelt there. These, though they might pick up a few words of *Lingua-Franca* Greek, sufficient for the purposes of commerce, would be unable to utter their thoughts connectedly in that language. On the other hand, so different was ancient education from modern, in regard to philological culture, Greeks might rarely understand Latin, still more rarely Hebrew, or any of the various Semitic dialects which were spoken in countries adjacent to the Mediterranean. The apostle, who surpassed every† member of the

which, according to him, is the *λαλεῖν γλώσσαις* of the Epistle to the Corinthians. But *ἐαυτοῖς* is evidently used for *ἀλλήλοις*, according to a very common idiom. In Coloss. iii. 16 (*ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ διδάσκοντες καὶ νοουθετοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς, ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς*) our translators have rendered "to one another." See also 1 Pet. iv. 7.

* Thucyd. i. 13. Hom. II. v. 570. *Πολυωχλείτο ἡ πόλις καὶ ἐπλουτίζετο ἐξαναλισκομένων τῶν ναυτίλων*.—Eust. ad loc. Strabo, l. viii. p. 379. Pind. Ol. xiii. init. It regained, if it did not surpass, its former prosperity, after its restoration by Julius Cæsar.

† *Πάντων ὑμῶν*, not necessarily "all put together," but "any one of you."

Church of Corinth (1 Cor. xiv. 18) in his knowledge of languages, certainly understood Greek, Hebrew, and Aramæan, probably Arabic (Gal. i. 17) and Latin. But he would have another great advantage over the ordinary members of the Corinthian Church. He was a man of education, and would acquire more thoroughly than the illiterate such languages as he learnt, and be more fluent and effective in the exercise of his gift. The Church being formed of such a mixed population, it was a wise policy to encourage addresses in various languages by those who were masters of them, provided it could be done without confusion, or rendering their meeting unedifying to the rest.

It is evident, however, that St. Paul did not consider the power of speaking with tongues as a mere philological attainment; it was a spiritual gift, though not of a high order. But here, again, we shall be in great danger of error, if we transfer modern ideas to the mind of St. Paul, and suppose that *spiritual*, in his sense, was equivalent to *miraculous* in ours. The cultivation of physical and mental philosophy has taught theologians to draw a sharp line between the regular operation of divine power and those events which appear as deviations from it: to the pious Jew both were alike effects of a perpetual, all-pervading divine energy, and it is from the effects themselves and the circumstances in which they were produced, not from the language of Scripture respecting the cause, that we must judge what was really natural, what supernatural. Such

expressions as *σημεῖα* and *τέρατα* do not suffice to mark the distinction between the marvellous and the miraculous. If we go through the apostle's list of gifts, we shall see that, with the exception of the *δυνάμεις*, whose precise nature we do not know, the rest imply no miraculous endowment.* Their very diversity shows them to be manifestations of the natural diversities of human intellect, feeling, and attainment. To one is given the word of wisdom—the talent of presenting truth with the attraction of eloquence; to another, the word of knowledge—a deeper insight into the truths of religion; to another, faith—strong and ardent conviction; to another, prophecy—the qualifications of a religious teacher; to another, the discernment of spirits—intuitive sagacity in judging characters, especially of discriminating between true and false religious pretensions; to another, fitness for relieving distress and sickness (*ἀντίληψις*); to another, aptitude for the management of the affairs of the community (*κυβέρνησις*). These are just such varieties of gifts as would be found in religious communities at the present day, and therefore it is neither necessary nor probable that the members of the Church of Corinth, having been previously destitute of all these qualifications, should

* 1 Cor. vii. 7. Continence is called *χάρισμα ἐκ θεοῦ*.—1 Pet. iv. 10. The same term is applied to the means of mutual edification. The spiritual *χάρισμα* which the apostle was desirous of conferring on the Church of Rome (Rom. i. 11) was not a miraculous gift (see Jowett, *ad loc.*), but the comfort of his presence, which benefit was to be reciprocal.

have been supernaturally endowed with them, as the consequence of their Christian faith.

In what sense, then, does the apostle call them spiritual, and say that to each is given the manifestation of the spirit for a beneficial end? They became spiritual, because they were enlarged, exalted, purified, by the influence of Christian faith and hope.* Eloquence, knowledge, sagacity, energy of character, talents for affairs, if directed to selfish and secular objects, would have been in his view only carnal; devoted to religion, and employed under its guidance and for its advancement, they became spiritual. The eloquence of the rhetorician or political orator, the knowledge of the philosopher, the practical talents of the statesman, however usefully employed, would not have been dignified by him with the name of gifts. The astronomical science of Thales or Hipparchus, if he knew of it, would have to his mind no sacred character; the words of the Psalmist, "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth forth his handywork," were to him divinely inspired (θεόπνευστοι).† The gift of healing, exercised for hire, by a Greek or Jewish physician, would have no asso-

* "The Christian life shaped itself to the form of natural peculiarities, which it ennobled, the natural talent being elevated to a *charisma*."—Neander, Ch. Hist. Vol. I. p. 253. Eng. Trans.

† In modern theology inspiration is deemed to constitute the value and authority of Scripture; to the apostle the proof of its inspiration was that it was profitable for doctrine, for

ciation in the Christian mind with religion ; exercised by the elders of a Christian Church, who should pray over the sick man with the prayer of faith, and anoint him with oil in the name of the Lord (James v. 14), it would assume the character of a work of the Spirit, though not excluding the efficacy of natural means. The gift of tongues, employed to interpret between men of different nations in ordinary business, would be a mere human accomplishment ; as the medium of religious instruction to those who must otherwise have remained ignorant of the Gospel, it became a spiritual gift. Naturally, however, it was a gift of the lowest order in the apostle's estimation ; it had not in itself, as the others had, any moral or religious character, and it was very liable to be unseasonably and ostentatiously used. The existence of a belief among the Christians, that the events of the day of Pentecost had been accompanied by a sudden endowment with the power of speaking various tongues, may have led those who possessed it in the Corinthian Church to pride themselves upon it, as an evidence of spirituality, and a claim to pre-eminence, It was clearly the purpose of the apostle to put down this claim, while allotting to the gift its due place. It is not necessary to suppose that it was always vanity or the love of display that prompted the use of a foreign language. The more intense the feeling, the more natural it is to reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.— 2 Tim. iii. 16.

a speaker to resort to his native tongue, without considering whether he is intelligible to bystanders or not.

To the view which has been taken of the nature of this gift, it may be objected that it is *rationalistic*—a name often applied as a contemptuous and vague expression of disapprobation of novelty in biblical criticism, but more specially of interpretations, which reduce to the rank of natural phenomena events which have generally been held to be miraculous. But without setting up a law of nature, an invariable sequence of cause and effect, as a restraint and limitation of divine power,* and fully admitting that a departure from their ordinary connection is a fact capable of being proved by testimony, we may safely say that events, whether in sacred or profane history, must be presumed to be natural, till it is shown that they are supernatural. I believe that there are facts in the Gospel history which do not admit of explanation without recourse to miracle; there are others, such as the casting out of dæmons, which, when the nature of what was called dæmoniacal possession is correctly understood, fall into the class of pathological phenomena. Each case must be judged by its own evidence; if we refuse to submit this evidence to the laws of historical criticism, we undermine the foundation of

* Quomodo est contra naturam quod Dei fit voluntate, quum voluntas tanti utique conditoris conditæ rei cuiusque natura sit?—Augustine, De Civ. Dei, lib. xxi. c. 8.

historical Christianity. Looking at the circumstances under which the gift of tongues is supposed to have been bestowed, I feel that the evidence of its supernatural origin is exceedingly defective. And, considering the manner of its exercise, I believe that the divine origin of the Gospel will be rendered more credible, by its history being freed from a useless and inappropriate miracle.

ESSAY III.

DID ST. PAUL DESIGNATE THE ATHENIANS AS RELIGIOUS OR SUPERSTITIOUS?

“Σταθεῖς δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου, ἔφη, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ πάντα ὥς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ.”—Acts xvii. 22.

“Viri Athenienses, per omnia quasi superstitioniores vos video.”—Vulgate.

“Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious.”—English Translation.

THIS is the commencement of the Apostle's speech, when he was brought to Areopagus, that he might declare what his new doctrine was. The translation of the Vulgate and of our own version has been objected to, on the ground that St. Paul, whose purpose must have been to conciliate, not to offend, his hearers, would not begin his address by designating them as superstitious, and preventing their listening to his exposition of Christian doctrine. Accordingly, many translators have rendered the word *religious*. I propose in

this essay to offer some reasons which induce me to think that the common version is correct.

The word is admitted to be ambiguous. The New Testament itself affords us no decisive indication of its meaning in this passage, for the adjective occurs nowhere else. The substantive *δαισιναιμονία* is found in Acts xxv. 19, where Festus declares to Agrippa, that the Jews had questions against Paul, *περὶ τῆς ἰδίας δαισιναιμονίας*. Now, considering the lofty contempt which the Romans entertained for the Jewish religion, and the quarrels of their sects (Acts xviii. 17), it can hardly be doubted that Festus used it in a depreciatory sense, though addressing a Jew: *superstitio* is the word by which Tacitus always designates the Jewish religion.* Had Festus desired to use an inoffensive word, yet, at the same time, to pay no compliment to the foreign worship, he might have called it *θρησκεία*, as Paul himself does, Acts xxvi. 5—*κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβεσ-
τάτην αἵρεσιν τῆς ἡμετέρας θρησκείας ἔζησα Φαρισαῖος*. And the Christians, regarded as a sect of the Jews, had the same name bestowed on their religion by the Romans.† Neither *δαισιναιμονία* nor *δαισιναιμόνων* occurs in the Septuagint or the Apocrypha. As far as the evidence of Scripture is concerned, the meaning of superstition seems to belong to the word.

It is alleged, however, that, in profane authors,

* Gens superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa.—Hist. v. 13, 5.

† Exitiabilis superstitio.—Tac. Ann. xv. 44.

δεισιδαίμων and δεισιδαιμονία are taken in a good sense, and are equivalent to religion and religious. In a modified sense, this is true. The most ancient use with a favourable meaning is in Xenophon, a man whom *we* should be inclined to class with the superstitious, as he was a firm believer in dreams, auguries, and the presignification of events by the entrails of victims. In the *Cyropædia*, iii. 3, 26, having said that when the watchword, "Jupiter our ally and leader," had come back, Cyrus led off the pæan, and they all devoutly joined in it with a loud voice, he adds,—'Εν τῷ τοιούτῳ γὰρ δὴ οἱ δεισιδαίμονες ἤττον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φοβοῦνται. Here it has been generally rendered, "religious persons less fear men." Schneider the lexicographer, who had interpreted it in this sense, acknowledges, in his edition of the *Agésilau*s, that he had been wrong, and that it meant one who was anxious and timid in regard to the future,—"*qui futurum consilii et incepti eventum timet.*" According to this interpretation, Xenophon meant to say, that the soldiers set up a hearty pæan, in order that the timid and anxious might be encouraged by a good omen. This meaning is still more clearly marked in the passage of the *Agésilau*s where, in summing up the character of his hero, Xenophon says,—'Αεὶ δὲ δεισιδαίμων ἦν, νομίζων τοὺς μὲν καλῶς ζῶντας οὕπω εὐδαίμονας, τοὺς δὲ εὐκλεῶς τετελευκότας ἤδη μακαρίους.—*Agés. c. 11.* Evidently he means to represent him as one who kept Nemesis ever in his thoughts, and dwelt anxiously on the possibility

of reverses. The biographer had in his mind the saying of Solon,—*Πρὶν ἂν τελευτήσῃ μηδὲν καλέειν πω ὄλβιον*.—Herod. i. 32.

This peculiar meaning the word *δαιμόνων* derived from its etymology. The usage of Scripture has made us familiar with the word *fear* as equivalent to *veneration*, and “the fear of God” as a synonyme for religion. But *δεδιέναι*, *φοβεῖσθαι*, and kindred words in Greek, are not synonymes with *σέβεισθαι* and *εὐλαβεῖσθαι*. They denote a different feeling, dread, and apprehension of evil, and the sources, intelligent or otherwise, whence evil may be anticipated. *Δαίμων*, the other element of the word, does not properly denote an order of beings inferior to the gods, or intermediate between gods and men : or, as in the later usage of the Jews, the spirits of dead men taking possession of the bodies of the living and producing madness ; but the Divine nature, considered in the special character of disposer of the events of human life. This office, however, from the natural disposition to interpose subordinate agents between God and man, and to invest the spirits of the dead (*Divi Manes*) with a portion of the Divine attributes, was soon delegated to an intermediate order of beings. In Homer, it means providence, fate, chance, the will of the gods, according to the shifting notion of the power by which destinies were decided. So Priam (Il. ῥ. 377) proposes that, after burning the dead,—

ὕστερον αὖτε μαχισόμεθ, εἰσόκε δαίμων

Ἄμμε διακρίνη, δφῆ δ' ἐτέροισι γε νίκην.

on which Eustathius observes,—*Δαίμων*, ἡγουν τύχη ἢ μοῖρα. But in Hesiod we find a different use of the word. In the “Works and Days” (l. 120), having described the men of the golden age, he goes on to say,—

Αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν
 Τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες εἰσι, Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλὰς
 Ἔσθλοι, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
 Οἳ ῥα φυλάσσουσιν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα,
 Ἡέρα ἐσσάμενοι, πάντη φοιτῶντες ἐπ’ αἶαν.

The name *δαίμων*, from *δαίω*, to divide, denotes this office of *distributing* good and evil. Hence the use of the words *εὐδαίμων*, *δυσδαίμων*, *κακοδαίμων* in the sense of fortunate and unfortunate, words which by no means exclude the agency of the gods in bringing events to pass, and are even used with immediate reference to that agency, but which indicate that particular function of superhuman power which is seen in the distribution of joy and sorrow to mortals. These words, as might be expected, being founded on heathen conceptions, never occur in the Scriptures, not even in the Apocrypha, any more than *μοῖρα* or *τύχη* in the New Testament. We find in writers after Homer *δαίμων* used of the gods collectively, as by Pindar, Olymp. i. 56,—

Ἔστι δ’ ἀνδρὶ φάμεν
 Ἐοικὸς ἀμφὶ δαίμονων καλὰ.
 Μείων γὰρ αἰτία.

But its general use in Pindar is of the deity which decides the fortunes of men, Pyth. viii. 107,—

Τὰ δ’ οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀνδράσι κεῖται,
 Δαίμων δὲ παρίσχει.

where the context strongly contrasts the fruits of human skill with these gifts of fortune. The usage of the tragic writers varies; often the word *Δαίμονες* is used for the gods collectively, as an order of superior beings—*e. g.* *Æsch.* *Prom.* 85, *ψευδανύμῳς* *αἷ* *δαίμονες* *Προμηθεῖα* *Καλοῦσιν*; often specifically for fortune or providence, as in *Eurip.* *Orest.*, 1560, *τέλος ἔχει δαίμων βροτοῖσι*, *Τέλος ὅπα θέλει*. The *δαιμόνιον* of Socrates was not any peculiar Genius, watching over and instructing him, but the Deity, instructing and warning him and other men by omens and suggestions.*

The passage quoted before from the *Encomium of Agesilaus*, in which he is praised, as a ruler, for bearing anxiously in mind the possibility of a reverse of fortune, may explain the meaning of *δεισιδαίμων* in a passage of Aristotle (*Pol.* v. 9, 15). In this chapter he has been speaking of the virtues which a tyrant should assume, if he had them not, in order to make his tyranny tolerable to his subjects, and prevent their rising in insurrection. He should be temperate in his pleasures, especially in drinking; or if not, he should at least avoid letting his excesses be known. He should adorn the city, and seem its trustee (*ἐπίτροπος*), and not its tyrant. *Ἔτι δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς φαίνεσθαι ἀεὶ σπουδάζοντα διαφερόντως ἥττόν τε γὰρ φοβοῦνται τὸ παθεῖν τι παράνομον ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων, ἐὰν δεισιδαίμονα νομίζωσιν εἶναι τὸν ἄρχοντα, καὶ φροντίζειν τῶν θεῶν*. Here, although the general sense of

* See Schweighäuser, *Opuscula Academica*, Argentor. 1806, p. 153.

religious would suit well enough with the connection, the specific sense of "one who fears a reverse of fortune from the abuse of it," is more directly appropriate. Diodorus Siculus, speaking of the custom of the Egyptian high-priest to extol the virtues of the king, in his harangue at the daily sacrifice, and to lay all the blame of his misdeeds upon his ministers and teachers, says (i. 71), he did this εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν καὶ θεοφιλή βίον τὸν βασιλέα προτρεπόμενος, where, again, the fear of the retributive justice of the gods is the specific meaning of δεισιδαιμονία. The religious sentiment he had just before expressed by πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς διακεῖσθαι. So, in another passage (i. 79), he speaks of Bocchoris allowing debtors to purge themselves of a claim, by swearing that they were not indebted, ὅπως ἐν μεγάλῳ τιθέμενοι τοὺς ὅρκους δεισιδαιμονῶσι, where the idea of fear of retributive justice is evidently meant to be conveyed. Elsewhere Diodorus uses the word in the sense of our word "superstition," *e. g.* xv. 53, speaking of the soldiers of Epaminondas, filled with dread before the battle of Leuctra, in consequence of evil omens, δεισιδαιμονοῦντες ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι σημείοις. And in i. 83, he uses δεισιδαιμονία of the fanatical superstition which led the Egyptians to put to death a Roman who had unwittingly killed a cat. Polybius (vi. 5, 6,) clearly marks what meaning, in general usage, was attached to the word, when he says καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὸ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ὀνειδιζόμενον, τοῦτο συνέχειν τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα, λέγω τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν. Just so an Eng-

lishman might speak of the superstition of the Russian, as tending to make him a good soldier. It is certainly in this sense, and with a strong contrast to *religion*, that Strabo (lib. vii., p. 297, ed. Casaub., marg.), speaking of the Getæ, says, ἅπαντες τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἀρχηγούς* οἴονται τὰς γυναῖκας· αὗται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας προκαλοῦνται πρὸς τὰς ἐπιπλέον θεραπείας τῶν θεῶν, καὶ ἑορτὰς καὶ ποτνιασμούς.

Passages have been alleged from Josephus in support of the sense of *religious*, but they are little to the purpose. No such inference can be drawn from his saying that Pilate was astonished at the δεισιδαιμονία of the Jews (Bell. Jud. ii. 9, 3), in resisting the introduction of the Roman standards into Jerusalem; or that Claudius warned the Jews by edict μὴ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἱθνῶν δεισιδαιμονίας ἐξουθενίξειν. Supposing that we have in these words an exact translation of the imperial edict, the probability is that *superstitiones* was the very word which Claudius used, intimating to them, somewhat contemptuously, that their own

* "Authors of superstition." Aristotle (Met. i. 3), calls Thales ἀρχηγὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας. Our translators have rendered Heb. xii. 2, τὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγὸν καὶ τελειωτὴν Ἰησοῦν—"Jesus the author and finisher of faith." The same word (Heb. ii. 10), they have rendered "captain of our salvation," and (Acts iii. 15), "prince of life," apparently shrinking from calling our Saviour the author of life and salvation. The Vulgate, more consistently, has *authorem* in all these passages. Pausanias is called Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγός, (Dem. Κατὰ Νεάρας), captain of the Greeks, but in this sense it could not be joined with such substantives as πίστις and ζωή.

religion belonged to the same class. It is deserving of remark that, in a previous edict in the same chapter, designed to enforce respect for the Jewish religion, which some of the Alexandrian people were disposed to insult, it is called τὴν πάτριον θρησκείαν, which is the appropriate word for religion or *cultus*. Another passage from Josephus (Bell. Jud. i. 5), which has been alleged as an instance of a eulogistic use of δεισιδαιμονία, rather proves the contrary. Alexandra had obtained the government after the death of her husband διὰ δόξαν εὐσεβείας. He goes on to relate how the Pharisees shot up into power under her protection, having the reputation of greater piety than others, and of more accurate interpretation of the Law. For this reason she attached herself greatly to them, σινομένη περὶ τὸ θεῖον, but they, gradually taking advantage of the simplicity of the woman (τῆς ἀνδράπου)* and having made themselves complete masters of everything, began to banish and recall whom they pleased, to set free and to imprison: ἐνδιδούσης δ' ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας Ἀλεξάνδρας, ἀνήρουν οὓς ἐθέλοιεν αὐτοί. Clearly, Josephus means to mark by this phrase that what began in religion had degenerated into superstition. He is reputed to have been himself a Pharisee, but he was not so bigoted as to bestow an epithet of praise on such weak subserviency to the influence of

ἄνθρωπος, with the feminine article, is used contemptuously of a woman, like muliercula in Latin. Comp. Demosth. lib. 23., Demosth. Fals. Leg. ἀδημονούσης δὲ τῆς "the poor woman."

selfish hypocrites. Even a Jesuit might lament the *dragonnades* of Louis XIV., and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, though brought about by Jesuit counsels. There is more apparent force in the passage quoted by Krebsius (Obs. in N. T. e Josepho, p. 232), from Antiq. x. 3, 2, where Manasseh is said to have repented of his former transgressions against God, *καὶ πάσῃ χρεῖσθαι περὶ αὐτὸν δεισιδαιμονία*. But this is really an exception confirming the rule. No doubt Josephus intended by this word to mark the timid anxiety of one who, being conscious of past transgressions, endeavoured, as he says, to efface from his own mind, if possible, the recollection of them.

The question, however, is not whether in a peculiar connection, or according to its etymology, *δεισιδαιμονία* is capable of a favourable sense; but what was its ordinary use among the Greeks, and especially at Athens; for on that would depend the impression made on the minds of Paul's hearers, when he addressed them as being *κατὰ πάντα δεισιδαιμονέστεροι*. Now there can be no doubt that it denoted to them exactly what we call superstition. And the apostle must have been aware of this. He was acquainted with the works of Menander. His remark to the Corinthians (xv. 35), "Evil communications corrupt good manners," is a senarius from Menander, *Φθείρουσιν ἅδη χρεῖσθ' ὁμιλίαι κακαί*. Now, one of the most celebrated comedies of Menander was entitled *ὁ Δεισιδαίμων*. Had no fragment of the play remained, we might have inferred what was the character of the hero,

from the circumstance, mentioned by Porphyry, in an extract preserved by Eusebius (Præp. Evang. x. 3), that it was borrowed from a play of Antiphanes,* a writer of the Middle Comedy (Menander belonging to the New), entitled ὁ Οἰωνιστής, "The Observer of the Flight of Birds." We have, however, a few lines of it preserved by Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. vii. p. 842, ed. Potter), who quotes it to show what was the character of Δεισιδαιμονία. It consists, he says, in thinking that everything which happens is an omen, and the cause of evil; as, if a mouse has perforated an altar of clay, or having nothing else, has gnawed an earthen jar, or a cock has crowed in the evening. The chief character in Menander's play was a personage whom, from his being not only superstitious but miserly, he has named Φειδίας. The following passage gives a specimen of his superstition. A dreadful omen has occurred to him; in lacing his right shoe the strap had broken, and he prays the gods to avert the evil. "No wonder," says his companion, "silly man, it was rotten, and you were too stingy to buy a new one."

Ἄγαθόν τί μοι γένοιτο πολύτιμοι θεοί.
 Ὑποδούμενος τὸν ἱμάντα γὰρ τῆς δεξιᾶς
 Ἐμβάδος ἀπέρρηξ'. Εἰκότως, ὦ φλήναφε,
 Σαπρὸς γὰρ ἦν, σὺ δὲ μικρολόγος ἄρ' οὐ θέλων
 Καινὰς πρίσθαι.†

* The whole passage is curious, as showing how ancient is the practice of literary plagiarism.

† See the passage restored in Meineke, *Fragmenta Comicorum Græcorum*, iv. p. 100.

Could an Athenian audience then suppose that a compliment was implied in the epithet *δεισιδαιμονέστεροι* ?

Still stronger evidence of the meaning of the word is afforded by a picture of the *δεισιδαίμων*, given in the Ethical Characters of Theophrastus. It has been doubted whether this section, which is not found in all the MSS., really proceeded from the successor of Aristotle, who lived somewhat earlier than Menander, and is said to have been his teacher. But whether a work of Theophrastus or not, there can be no question that it comes from an Athenian author, and describes an Athenian character. And thus he paints him. "The *δεισιδαίμων* is one who, having washed his hands and sprinkled himself all over as he quits the temple, takes a laurel leaf in his mouth, and walks about all day. If he sees a weasel run across the road, he will not proceed on his journey till some one have passed that way, or till he has thrown three stones across the road. If he sees a serpent in the house, he founds a shrine there; as he passes by the shining stones at the three cross-roads, he pours oil out of his cruise, falls on his knees, and goes his way. If a mouse gnaws his flour-bag, he goes to the expounder of omens, to ask him what it means; he often lustrates his house, and neither treads on a grave, nor touches a dead body. And when he sees a dream, he goes to the dream-interpreters, to the soothsayers, to the augurs, to ask to what god or goddess he must sacrifice. When he is going to be initiated, he goes every month with his wife to the Orpheotelestæ" (the

initiators into the Orphic mysteries), "or, if his wife has not leisure, with the nurse and the children; and when he departs, he washes himself on the head, and, calling the priestesses, causes them to purify him by carrying a squill round about him. And when he sees a madman or an epileptic, he gives a shudder, and spits into his own bosom." Δεισιδαιμονία Theophrastus defines to be δειλία πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον, "excess of fear as regards the deity."

This passage will guide us to an exact appreciation of the Apostle's meaning. Of course, a Jew thought all the heathen religions *superstitions*, as the heathens thought and called Judaism; but this was not what St. Paul meant. He must have intended to call the Athenians δεισιδαίμονας, as an epithet which discriminated one heathen from another. The Romans deemed the Egyptians superstitious; the Greeks deemed the Romans so.* This name was not applied to the performance of the religious rites in each State, as established νόμῳ πόλεως. It was by carrying them to unusual strictness, frequency, and minuteness, performing them with timid scrupulosity, and above all, departing from the usages sanctioned by law, to follow secret, mystical, and foreign rites, which work powerfully on susceptible minds, that the character of δεισιδαιμονία was incurred. This difference is strongly marked in a passage from Plutarch's life of Numa (ad fin.); where, speaking of Tullus Hostilius, he says that, when young, he ridiculed the piety (τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον

* See the passage from Polybius, quoted p. 114.

εὐλάβειαν) of his predecessor, but that becoming an altered man by a severe and obstinate disease, εἰς εἰσιδαίμονίαν ἐνέδωκεν, οὐδέν τι τῇ κατὰ Νημᾶν εὐσεβείᾳ προσήκουσαν. This was precisely the case with the Athenians. Light-minded enough in ordinary life, they were δειλοὶ πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον when their religious apprehensions were excited. They had altars to nameless gods. When the city was suffering from a pestilence, inflicted by Minerva, as a punishment for the violation of her temples (Herod. v. 71), the Pythia commanded them to lustrate the city ; they accordingly sent a vessel to Crete, to fetch thence the celebrated soothsayer, Epimenides. He came, and having brought a number of black and white sheep (appropriated respectively to the celestial and infernal gods) to the Areopagus, he turned them loose, commanding that they should be sacrificed wherever they lay down, and an altar erected there. The consequence was that, in the demes of Attica, many altars were to be seen with no name of a deity upon them. The altar, however, to which the Apostle probably referred, was in the Phalerus, one of the ports of Athens, where he may have landed when he came by sea (Acts xvii. 14), from Thessalonica to Athens, and where Pausanias (I. 1, 4) tells us, there were altars θεῶν ὀνομαζομένων ἀγνώστων, "of the gods called Unknown." The cause of such an inscription has been plausibly supposed to be, that in course of time the dedications of many altars had become illegible, while others, as in the case of the

altars raised in the pestilence, never had any: and to avoid any offence to the celestial powers, altars were dedicated collectively to the unknown. I am not aware that mention is made of an altar to *an* unknown god, in a classical author. Wetstein quotes from the Philopatris of Lucian (§ 9) a ludicrous oath, Νῆ τὸν Ἄγνωστον ἐν Ἀθήναις. But the Philopatris has no claim to a place among the works of Lucian; it has long been rejected by critics, and was the work of a Byzantine Christian, probably of the tenth century.* The inscription in the Phalerus, however, would serve the Apostle's purpose sufficiently, though it was polytheistic in its dedication. By this timid anxiety to propitiate deities of whom they knew nothing, the Athenians justified the epithet of *δεισιδαίμονες*, in the sense in which their own writers had used it.

In this sense, Jewish, Heathen, and Christian writers agree to use it. Philo, in his treatise Περὶ τοῦ τοῦ χεῖρον κ.τ.λ. (Vol. II. p. 163, ed. Pfeiffer), is arguing that a man who works without knowledge, is like Joseph wandering in the field, and that knowledge is necessary, to prevent good from passing into evil. Prudence must not become cunning, nor temperance parsimony and meanness, nor courage, audacity, nor piety be exercised in a superstitious way, οὐδὲ δεισιδαιμόνως εὐσεβείαν. Ælian has a chapter (v. 17), Περὶ Ἀθηναίων

* See Niebuhr's Dissertation in his "Kleine Historische Schriften," Saml. 2, p. 73. Hase, Leo Diaconus, ap. Corp. Hist. Byzantin., p. 11.

δεισιδαιμονίας, "Such," he says, "was their superstition, that if anyone cut off a sucker from an ilex in the grove of a hero's temple, they punished him with death; and Atarbis having killed, by a blow, a sparrow sacred to Æsculapius" (probably one that had built in his temple: comp. Psalm lxxxiv. 3), "the Athenians put him to death." It was urged that he had done it involuntarily, or that he was insane, but neither plea availed to save. Who Atarbis was, or when the event took place, is unknown; all that concerns our argument is the sense in which δεισιδαιμονία would be understood at Athens. Ælian, who lived in the early part of the second century, in the reign of Hadrian, was born in Italy, but he had the reputation of possessing the Attic idiom, as perfectly as if he had been a native of Athens.* Plutarch, whose youth must have coincided with the old age of St. Paul, repeatedly uses the word δεισιδαιμονία, and always, as far as I have observed, in the sense of superstition. He wrote a treatise expressly on this subject, and he defines it to be an opinion respecting the gods, which produces a fear that debases and crushes a man, who believes, indeed, that they exist, but are the cause of sorrow and harm. Of all terrors, he goes on to say, superstition is that which most unfits a man for action, and throws him into the greatest perplexity. Slaves forget their masters' threats, while they are asleep; sleep lightens the prisoner's fetters; sleep mitigates the most

* Ἀδλιανὸς Ῥωμαῖος μὲν ἦν ἡττίκιζε δὲ ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ μεσόγειῳ Ἀθηναῖοι. Philost., De Vitis Sophistarum, ii. 31.

grievous of bodily pains: Euripides makes Orestes say:—

‘Ὁ φίλον ὕπνου θέλγητρον, ἐπίκουρον νόσου,
 ‘Ὡς ἡδύ μοι προσῆλθες ἐν δεοντί γε.—Orestes, 205.

Superstition does not allow a man to say this. Sleep brings him no truce, but harasses him with frightful dreams, imposing upon him terrible and preposterous commands. And when he awakes, instead of rejoicing to find that they are dreams, he resorts to impostors, who tell him to call in the lustrating old woman, to go and dip himself in the sea, to remain a whole day sitting on the ground.* Elsewhere, in the same treatise, he says, Φεύγοντες τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς ἀθέοτητα. Maximus Tyrius, xx. 6, clearly enough distinguishes the words which characterize religion from superstition; ‘Ὁ μὲν εὐσεβής, φίλος θεῶν, ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων κόλαξ θεοῦ. Marcus Antoninus, i. 16, says that he had learnt from his father to be μὴ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δεισιδαίμων, ἀλλὰ νήφων ἐν πᾶσι. Clemens Alexandrinus† thus defines the word: Δεισιδαίμων, ὁ δεδιώς τὰ δαιμόνια, ὁ πάντα θειάζων, καὶ ξύλον καὶ λίθον καὶ πνεῦμα.‡ The lexi-

* Plut. Op. ed. Wytttenbach, i. part 2, p. 653.

† Strom. lib. viii. p. 831, ed. Potter.

‡ Theophylact, Comm. Act xvii. 22, copies these words of Clemens, adding ὥσπερ ἐγκωμιάζειν αὐτοὺς δοκεῖ. Δεισιδαιμονεστέρους δὲ, ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐλαβεστέρους. The attribution of divinity to all inanimate objects seems like a ground of praise; but to a Christian apostle it was not so, and instead of calling them pious, he calls them superstitious. Dean Trench (New Testament Synonymes, p. 204), quotes Chrysostom as making δεισιδαιμονεστέρους=εὐλαβεστέρους.

eographers, as in duty bound, notice both senses. Hesych. Δεισιδαίμων, ὃ τὰ εἰδῶλα σέβων ὁ εὐσεβής· καὶ δειλὸς περὶ θεοῦς, where Alberti quotes a MS. in the Royal Library of Paris, Δεισιδαίμων, ὁ εὐσεβής. Παῦλος· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ δεδιὼς τοῦς δαίμονας. On the other hand, Moschopulos defines it as ἄλογος φόβος περὶ τῶν θεῶν. Julius Pollux, “ὁ δὲ ὑπερτιμῶν τοῦς θεοὺς, δεισιδαίμων καὶ δεισιθεός. ‘Ὁ θεοὺς νομίζων ἀνὴρ καλοῦτ’ ἂν εὐσεβής, φιλοθεός, ὅσιος, θεοσεβής, θεοφιλής.”

Examples, however, of an archaic sense, are far from proving that δεισιδαίμων at Athens, in St. Paul's time, was, as Bengel alleges (Gnom. ad loc.), “Verbum per se μέσον ideoque, quod ambiguitatem habet, clemens et exordio huic aptissimum,” or, as Dean Trench says, “A word which almost imperceptibly shades off from praise to blame.” On the contrary, I think it has been shown, that it could fall on Athenian ears only as a word of blame, the equivalent of our *superstitious*: actual usage, not etymology or rare examples, decides how a word will be understood by a public audience. A preacher, who wished to excite the compassionate liberality of a congregation, would hardly call upon them for their *pitiful* contributions; though he might find old English authority for the use of the word as equivalent to compassionate. If St. Paul, really wishing to smooth his way to the hearts of the Athenians, began his address by calling them δεισιδαιμονεστέρους, meaning to be understood as complimenting them on their reverence for religion, he showed himself, I think, an unskilful orator.

There were words in their language by which this compliment might have been conveyed, without ambiguity on the one hand, or flattery on the other. The epithet, in its unfavourable sense, was well deserved. With a great deal of scepticism there was combined, among the Athenians, a great deal of superstition. It is a quality which allies itself readily with the frivolity and childish curiosity, for which they had been reproached in the days of their independence, and which had so much increased in later times, that the earnest, practical, energetic author of the Book of Acts (xvii. 21) could not conceal his astonishment at finding himself in a city, all the inhabitants of which, natives and foreigners alike, seemed to have no other occupation than to inquire the news of each other.

The character and circumstances of the Apostle appear to me to forbid the supposition that, even to gain a favourable audience, he would call a people sunk in superstition and idolatry, religious. That wide and philosophical charity, which sees and sympathizes with the religious sentiment in the most corrupt forms of worship, was not in the temper of Jews or Christians. What St. Paul thought of the religious and moral state of the heathen world we know from himself. "They had changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. And as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not seemly."

(Rom. ch. i.) "They walked in the vanity of their mind, having the understanding darkened, being alienated from God through their ignorance, because of the blindness of their hearts, and being past feeling, had given themselves up to work all uncleanness with greediness" (Ephes. ch. iv.). His spirit had been stirred within him, beyond what he himself approved (*παρωξύνετο*—comp. 1 Cor. xiii. 5, *ἡ ἀγάπη οὐ παρωξύνεται*), when he saw the city wholly given to idolatry. And no wonder ; for in Athens, where it was easier to find a god than a man, he could not take a step without seeing, how the glory of the incorruptible had been changed, and worship degraded to the meanest flattery. The Athenians had even dedicated temples to the mistresses and flatterers of Demetrius, calling him, in the songs with which they welcomed him on his return from Leucas and Corcyra, "the only true god, while the other gods were asleep, or gone on a journey, or did not exist." *

Let us suppose a parallel case. Imagine Luther, or Calvin, or Knox visiting Rome. He sees the people kneeling at a procession of the host ; hears saints invoked, and masses sung for the dead, and, to crown all, passes a shrine dedicated to the Mother of God ; and having gathered an audience on the Quirinal, he thus addresses them :—"Ye men of Rome, I perceive that in all things ye are very religious." Saint Paul was in no danger of his life from the Athenians, but I believe he would rather have incurred the fate

* Athen. vi. 62.

of Stephen, than have called them religious, after what he had seen of their worship, and knew of their morals. It was not the practice of the advocates and apologists of Christianity to "speak smooth things"; they used the plainest and boldest language of reproach to the heathens, respecting the absurdities and atrocities of polytheism. Why should the Apostle be less plain-spoken than Justin or Tertullian? There was no reason to fear that his audience would leave him, or drown his voice in clamour, on account of a hard word applied to themselves. They were accustomed to very plain speaking from their own countrymen; and modern refinement is astonished at the coarseness of the language, in which their great orators addressed one another, and, what is more to the present purpose, the severity and roughness with which they spoke disagreeable truths to popular assemblies.

In defending the character of the Apostle as a skilful advocate, sufficient attention appears not to have been paid to what was demanded of him, as an honest missionary of the truth. Yet there is oratorical skill and tact in his address. He takes advantage of an inscription to unknown Gods, to introduce to them the Maker of the universe. Whether he knew that the inscription was really a proof of the superstitious fears of those who erected it or not, we cannot tell; but under so comprehensive a name he might fairly enough include the God of the Jews and Christians, an unknown God to the Athenians.

There is also a softening in the form of the expression in the original which is lost, indeed changed into its opposite, in our translation. The comparative form, ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους, instead of strengthening moderates the force of δεισιδαίμονας. It might fairly be rendered "rather superstitious." So, in Herodotus, ii. 21, θαυμασιωτέρη; vii. 13, ἄνδρα πρεσβύτερον; iii. 145, Μαιανδρίῳ τῷ τυράννῳ ἦν ἀδελφεὸς ὑπομαργότερος, "petulantior et propemodum vecors," Wesseling; the Latin comparative having the same effect in diminishing the force of an unfavourable epithet. Hor. Sat. ix. 70 :—

Nulla mihi, inquam,
Religio est. At mi : sum paulo infirmior, unus
Multorum.

Truth forbids us to confound the things that differ, and to call that religion which we believe to be superstition : but it does not require that what may excite prejudice should be presented in the most obnoxious form. Castalio seems to me to have very happily rendered the Apostle's words, by the help of this idiom. "Viri Athenienses, video vos omnino paulo superstitiosiores." But the use of the comparative would have had no propriety, had the adjective itself been one of praise.

Additional Note to p. 65.

M. Renan, in his recent work, "Vie de Jésus," repeatedly speaks of the λόγια of Matthew, as if it were a collection wholly of discourses. "Papias mentionne deux écrits sur les actes and les paroles du Christ: 1° un écrit de Marc, interprète de l'apôtre Pierre, écrit court, incomplet, non rangé par ordre chronologique, comprenant des récits et des discours, composé d'après les renseignemens et les souvenirs de l'apôtre Pierre; 2° un recueil de sentences (λόγια) écrit en Hébreu par Matthieu, et que chacun a traduit comme il a pu.' Il est certain que ces deux descriptions répondent assez bien à la physionomie générale des deux livres appelés maintenant. 'Evangile selon Matthieu,' 'Evangile selon Marc.' Que ces deux ouvrages, tels que nous les lisons, soient absolument semblables à ceux que lisait Papias, cela n'est pas soutenable; d'abord, parceque l'écrit de Matthieu pour Papias, se composait uniquement de discours en Hébreu, dont il circulait des traductions assez diverses."—Introduct. p. xviii. See also pp. xxix. xxx. xliii. The passage in Eusebius, H. E. iii. 39, on which M. Renan builds this hypothesis is the following:—*Περὶ μὲν τοῦ Ματθαίου ταῦτ' εἶρηται. Ματθαῖος ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο· ἡρμήνευσεν δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἡδυνάτο ἕκαστος.* I have given my reasons in the note to which this is supplementary, for considering Δόγια as equivalent to gospels. There is no authority, either in Scripture or in the ecclesiastical writers (see Suicer in verb.), for rendering λόγια discourses. Papias, in the context, uses λόγοι in speaking of our Lord's discourses. M. Renan, too, goes much beyond Papias when he says that of these *logia* "translations were circulated differing much from one another." Papias merely says that each man interpreted them as he could, which by no means implies that written translations were made and circulated. The fact seems to be, that when Papias wrote, the gospels had not obtained the distinctive name of *Evangelia*. They had hardly done so even in Justin Martyr's time, who generally speaks of Ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων. Apol. i. 33.

M. Renan adds, "Papias — ne dit pas un mot d'une 'Vie de Jésus' écrite par Jéan. Si une telle mention se fût trouvée dans son ouvrage, Eusèbe en eût sans doute fait la remarque." Neither does he quote anything from Papias respecting the gospel of St. Luke, which yet was certainly extant in his time, so that M. Renan's inference, that the fourth Gospel was not then written, falls to the ground.

At p. 183 M. Renan remarks, "La collection des Logia, ou discours de Jésus, se forma dans le milieu Ebionite de la Batanée;" and he appears to think that, as the Ebionites were poor, the exaggerated estimation of poverty in the Sermon on the Mount, and generally in our Lord's discourses, may have been produced by this influence. He refers in proof to Epiphanius, Adv. Hær. i., 19. 29, 30, especially 29. 9. But though these passages attest the existence of an Ebionite community in Batanæa, they make no mention of any collection of *logia*, or of the Gospel of Matthew as originating there.

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